

INSIDE: An AIDS-related discovery/The quest for the Titanic

Maclean's

JULY 15, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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COVER

Politics in the office

Office politics has always been a fact of life for Canada's white-collar workers, but never before has getting ahead on the job been so crucial. In an age of unemployment and tight markets, specialists and consulting companies have emerged to advise workers on everything from how to dress for success to how to get and keep power. — **Page 32**

COVER BY BRUCE MCKENNA



A real millionaire

Former Los Angeles Rams cheerleader and model Jenilee Harrison has no problems acting her part as Jenilee Ewing on *Dallas*. Harrison is a real-life millionaire. — **Page 22**



The politics of birth

Like her first collaborative art piece called *The Dinner Party*, Judy Chicago's latest work, *The Birth Project*, is poised to inspire strong likes and dislikes. — **Page 39**



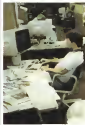
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AIDS-related discovery

A Toronto biochemist has developed a startling procedure that may ultimately eliminate the risk of contracting AIDS through blood transfusions. — **Page 42**



Stalking a media empire

Executives at Southern Inc. scrambled to defend it against an unwanted takeover last week. Montreal businessman Paul Desmarais appeared to be the hunter. — **Page 24**

Ratting on the Pack

The prominence that the media is giving to the "Hot Pack" ("The price of power," *Canada/Quebec*, June 24) is suggesting, by pandering to their sensationalist hunger, the media is creating a disincentive for those in opposition who see their role as one of offering constructive criticism and thoughtful alternatives. The effort produced by the NDP's jobs task force marked a major departure from the tugging and cabotaging that have characterized parliamentary tradition. While the substance of the report should have been debated, the fact that such an effort was made was in itself newsworthy and deserved better coverage. Now that report, which received such fleeting attention when it was released, collects dust while a few headlines get all the press.

—JIM JAKUBOWSKI
Victoria

Gray skies over the CBC

As a Canadian taxpayer supporting the CBC, I wish to register my protest at the successful of Elizabeth Gray's contract ("The snafu of a genuine star," *Canada*, June 17). Bruno, Allan Petheringham and Bob Cobb Petheringham express the anger and frustration of thousands of *As It Happens* listeners. Elizabeth Gray has been a maverick, intelligent, superb asset to our national broadcasting system.

—LOONA GERSHON-LEMAN
Montreal

I have just read Allan Petheringham's column in which he praised the many talents of Elizabeth Gray and deplored the demerit of the CBC not to renew her



Bob Pecker (Shelia Copps, pandering)

contract. I agree with every word Gray is brilliant and the CBC is stupid.

—PATRICIA MURRAY,
Montreal, Que.

Having spent the better part of the past 10 years in Northern Canada, often in isolated settings, I can honestly say that without the CBC it would have been a much shorter stay. I was appalled to hear that the CBC is not going to renew Elizabeth Gray's contract on *As It Happens*. It's like losing a good friend. I applaud Allan Petheringham's watchdog stance. Is anyone listening?

—MARK RITTERUP,
Saskatoon

Elizabeth Gray was CBC Radio at its very best. Without her, *As It Happens* has already slipped from excellence to mediocrity. As one of the owners of the CBC, I wish Elizabeth Gray back.

—TIT WOLF,
Lewistown, Que.

Allan Petheringham has at last found something of which to approve. Not surprisingly, it is the performance of some of his contemporaries in the media. It is all very well for the members of the medical administration society of radio and television personalities to express their opinion, but the general public has a right to be heard as well. For my part, I would like to hear the news and the opinions of representative authorities on public affairs programs free from the highly biased interjections and inflections of such hosts as Elizabeth Gray, who has for years allowed her programs with her own personal prejudices and fancy ideas.

—GEOFFREY NAGHNEY,
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be reworded. Where possible, include name, address and telephone number. Send correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's Reader Mail, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

MURDERED Quebec City police constable Jacques Giguere, 43, and Yves Tetre, 30, shot while responding to a burglar alarm at a dental-supplies warehouse. It was the first-ever police killing on the force, founded in 1662. At week's end Sgt. Serge LeBlanc, 40, of the suburban Ste-Boye force, who had been a prime suspect in the case, shot himself. In an apparent suicide attempt when he realized police were closing in and was in satisfactory condition under police guard in hospital. Police said that \$300 had been taken from the Dignit Distributors Canada warehouse. The two slain officers were buried after a civic funeral at the Quebec Basilica attended by police from across Canada.

DEED Frank Belke Sr., 52, at his legal, Que., home, after a long battle with cancer. Belke was coaching director of the Montreal Canadiens hockey club from 1940 to 1964, during which time the team won six Stanley Cups, including a record five consecutive wins from 1956 to 1960. Belke also coached in three Stanley Cup wins with the Toronto Maple Leafs, where he was an assistant to general manager Conn Smythe from 1952 to 1946.

MARRIED Elizabeth, Ont., Liberal MP Sheila Copps, 33, to television film editor Richard Marzani, in Tampa, Fla. Well-known as House of Commons for her fiery questioning, Copps met Marzani while on holiday in Florida two years ago. Her first marriage, in 1975 to a Texas football player turned journalist, lasted only nine months.

DEED T.E. (Ted) Kelen, 68, drama critic for *Time* magazine since 1961, of cancer, at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center, New York. The former president of the New York Drama Critics' Circle also wrote many cover stories on subjects ranging from Shakespeare to Tennessee Williams.

SUING Journalist Louise Arcand, 40, for \$400,000, against Radio-Canada for dismissal from her previous job as 770 showwoman on the nightly news broadcast Co-Sor. A Quebec labor department arbitrator ruled in March that replacing Arcand with a younger colleague had been "tainted with discrimination." Radio-Canada says that it offered Arcand two other jobs at the same salary.

SHOWN by Francesco Conza, 56, as Italy's president, pledging that helping the common people would be his top priority. Conza led a standing ovation in parliament to honor Sandro Pertini, 88, his predecessor.



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By du MAURIER

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The twins Canada loves

Last July Canadians shared the elation of a Burmese family after a 48-member medical team at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children successfully separated conjoined twins Lin and Win Hnat after 17½ hours of surgery. For almost a year the 2½-year-olds, who were joined at the shoulders and pelvis, recovered in the hospital's burn and plastic surgery unit while their anxious mother, Myint, and father, Myt, an engineer in Saging, 30 km west of Mandalay, Burma, awaited their return home. This week the hospital will release Lin. But the joy of Lin's Burmese reunion was tempered by the fact that her sister, Win, will remain in Toronto for further treatment until the fall. Reflecting on the trials of the latest separation, nurse Alison Miller said: "They sit together, huddle together and know where the other one is at all times. Being apart will be very strange for them."

Surviving the operation and the psychological adjustment to their new independence—and, in Win's case, altered sexuality—has already been a major accomplishment for the twins. They were



Nurse Cheryl Gurnsey, LIA, Win, 2½

born joined in a Y-shaped configuration and shared a mediastinal third lung, their abdominal wall and a penis. Because of a careful assessment of their personalities by hospital specialists and the twins' Burmese travelling companions, doctors decided to leave Lin with the male genitalia. They also constructed a vagina for Win out of her own tissue. Two months later, Lin was outfitted with an artificial right leg (its sister, whom nurses clothe in dresses to reinforce her sense of femininity, subsequently had surgery to correct a club foot). Unlike her brother, she has not yet learned to walk on her artificial leg.

Nurse Miller, whose the toddlers call "Ali," leaves this week with Lin for Burma to help the family adjust and prepare for Win's arrival. Accompanying the party will be the hospital's Dr. Alina Coon, who discovered Lin and Win at the Burmese Children's Hospital during a lecture tour in 1983 and brought them to Canada for surgery. For his part, the twins' surgeon, Dr. Robert Pillier, is concerned about the social adjustments his young patients will face. "I cannot imagine what it would be like living in Canada with an artificial limb, let alone in Burma," he told *Maclean's*. Based on their progress so far, the Hnat twins show every evidence that they are ready for the new challenges.

—SHIRLEY ALEXANDER



Teacher's Mississauga, McGordy and student's Tania Swartz, study road, budget battles

Harmony at the conservatory

For generations of Canadian music students the gothic halls of Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music have inspired awe and affection. The 99-year-old conservatory, administered since 1932 by the University of Toronto, has produced talents ranging from piano-squaire Louis Marshall and the late pianist Glenn Gould to Angela Hewitt, winner of the 1985 International Bach Pages Competition. But in 1983 the institution was threatened when a University of Toronto task force recommended in a preliminary report that its own faculty of music absorb the conservatory's major functions. The public outcry was immediate. As a result, this spring the university's governing council finally agreed that the conservatory should remain intact. Indeed, by July 1985, the conservatory will separate entirely from the university. But conservatory piano teacher Robert D'Aoust, "This is freedom. We are very happy."

Until that decision, relations between the diploma-granting conservatory and its rival, the university's degree-granting faculty of music, had been distinctly dysfunctional. As a training institute the conservatory operates 11 grades of study in most musical disciplines, from voice to lute. Private music teachers across the country use its examination curriculum widely. Twice a year conservatory teachers fan out across Canada to give examinations to 77,000 aspiring musicians. But since 1954 the conservatory has been losing the battle with the music faculty for university funds. Prohibited from fund-raising, the conserva-

tory had to derive nearly all of its revenue from examination fees. Indeed, D'Aoust said that the neglect of its Kiewit Street building had become so acute that some studio floors can no longer bear the weight of pianos, while major fires had begun to damage one of the organs. For their part, university officials expressed concern that the conservatory standards, set by the institution's Toronto teachers, were slipping.

By 1983 those mounting problems forced the university to launch a task force, headed by then-university vice-president Roger Wolfe. The preliminary report proposed that the university take over the conservatory's national examination system. (Giving the institution its revenue supply at a conservatory music centre. Outraged conservatory supporters decried the university and local newspapers with letters of protest. Said task force member Walter Pittman: "Parents thought the exams would become tough and merciless.")

The protesters' efforts helped reverse the task force's recommendations. In June, 1984, it recommended that the conservatory become independent. Now, the university's governing council is considering the separation terms. According to D'Aoust, independence will allow the conservatory to raise funds so that it can restore its existing premises and eventually create a national music school. The conservatory's champions say they will be happy simply to see its conduct its own musical affairs once again.

—ANN WALSHLEY

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COLUMN

A plea on behalf of free trade

By Dian Cohen

Free trade with the United States is a topic most Canadians discuss with great trepidation. For some of us, the problems with the concept are economic: our industries will not stand the strain of international competition and will collapse, causing the unemployment rate to soar, or we will revert to being leeches of wood and drawers of water, or U.S. capital will flood into the country, foreign ownership will increase and we will become even more dependent on the Americans. Then there are those who see us that free trade with the Americans makes economic sense in terms of improving Canadian living standards and economic stability, but who are still unwilling to consent themselves to the idea. They think that economic associations will lead to the erosion of both our political and our cultural independence.

But unless we act to open free trade discussions with the Americans this summer, we will miss the boat. The trading world is changing, and the outlines of the new economy are casting ominous shadows on Canada and our ability to maintain employment and income even at their present unacceptable standards.

The newly industrialized countries, such as Mexico, Brazil and Greece, are developing heavy industries which produce steel and transportation equipment. Once, those capital goods were among the mainstays of our economy. But now our industry is threatened because those nations sell their products more cheaply than we can, thanks to our foreign exchange. Meanwhile, the less developed nations, such as India, China and the Philippines, are expanding production into everything that has, for them, a high labor content and low cost: clothing, textiles, footwear and digital watches. We produce cheap things too, but in an increasing competitive disadvantage. At the same time, the industrialized countries are battling fiercely to develop and sell information technology—the fastest-growing and most profitable sector.

Canada must find a guaranteed market for what remains of the heavy and light manufacturing industries, and prod its inventors into getting more seriously involved in the technological race. Otherwise, the economic, political and cultural future is not just grim, it's almost nonexistent. We will be hit with higher unemployment, higher taxes to

subsidize uncompetitive industries, lower wages and such a declining standard of living that to spend money on anything cultural, such as the CBC, will seem beyond our means.

It is time to look dispassionately at the free trade option. First, let me deal with the fear that Canada's industries cannot withstand the rigors of international competition and will collapse, triggering higher unemployment. It is worth noting that the history of the postwar period has been one of tariff reduction. Far from causing industrial collapse, tariff reductions under the various rounds of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have brought increased exports and imports to virtually every manufacturing industry in Canada. Canadian businesses have reduced the number of product lines they make in order to compete effectively. Industries have not wholeheartedly collapsed, instead, many have simply found a

'Unless we act to open free trade talks with the Americans this summer, we are going to miss the boat'

product niche and specialized. Even tobacco, the perennial cripple among Canadian industries, has adjusted.

Many Canadians also fear that free trade will spark widespread unemployment. But that is a more likely possibility with our present trade policy of erecting trade barriers to preserve jobs in declining industries. If we forced our industries to cut costs and restructure, we would open up new markets and increase the economy's ability to generate new forms of work even as the old jobs disappear.

There is no doubt that Canadian tariffs and other trade barriers do protect some Canadian jobs. But the argument that without such protection we would revert to being leeches of wood does not hold water. During the Kennedy Round of tariff reductions from 1966 to 1970, total employment in manufacturing increased by 168,000.

One of the major reasons we cannot create jobs fast enough in U.S. trade barriers. They not only discourage Canadian manufacturers from supplying the U.S. market, but also encourage our small businesses to invest in manufac-

turing their products in the United States. As a result, we have lost an average of \$3 billion annually of direct investment to the United States since 1975. In fact, under some circumstances a business locating in Canada could better meet the needs of an integrated export market than one locating in the United States. A free trade agreement might actually bring U.S. capital into Canada.

Finally, there is the question of whether economic associations would lead to political assimilation. In the past 30 years under GATT, tariff barriers have fallen from an average of 38 per cent of a product's value to between five and 10 per cent, and to date no one knows GATT has lost political independence. So it is hard to see how reducing trade barriers would lead to political assimilation.

In fact, there is a case to be made that Canada's political independence would be more secure under a free trade arrangement, because a formal agreement would reduce our vulnerability to U.S. trade policy whims.

Now it is urgent that we move the discussion to the front. Almost 80 per cent of Canada's trade is with the United States. We have already tried the "third option" of expanding trade with other partners, and found that it just did not work. Currently the United States is poised to legislate the harshest protectionist measure in 30 years.

Meanwhile, Washington has created an excellent opportunity to negotiate with selected countries on free trade, through the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984. But the act requires 90 days of congressional hearings, and unless we act fast, the hearings will be interrupted by the midterm congressional elections of 1986. Congressmen will become more and more sensitive to the protectionist pressure of those who elect them.

The choice is ours: get the best reception a Canadian initiative will get will be in the fall of 1985. But it is already July, and we cannot even agree that we want free trade. As David Gelman, chief executive officer at Alessi Associates Ltd., said at the National Economic Conference in Ottawa last March, "A weak economy with unemployed and underemployed people is a greater danger to our independence than free trade will ever be." Is anyone listening?

Dian Cohen is a Montreal-based economist and writer.



Getting away from accidents

By Michael Rose

Rays of government executive jets ferried the 14 members of the federal inner cabinet and its staff about 700 km northwest from Ottawa late last week to Bras. Mulroney's old headquarters in Bala, Ont., for four days of self-appraisal, planning and

live up to its election pledges and to learn from earlier errors. Some, if not all, of the announcements had clearly been brought along in the cabinet baggage from Ottawa. Among them:

A renewal of a cabinet committee on foreign affairs and defense under External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, a policy body that Mulroney had abolished last September—to relieve the workload on

him and the inner cabinet. Mulroney told reporters that the change would "exister" the priorities and planning committee, "so that we'll have more thinking time, more time to reflect upon some of the very serious matters that are brought to our attention." Mulroney further diverted pressure on the inner cabinet by assigning a new cabinet subcommittee to examine proposals for parliamentary reform from an earlier study by James McGrath, Tory MP for St. John's East, Nfld.

The revival of a cabinet group on foreign affairs and defense also was viewed as restoring to the external affairs minister the traditional powers within the cabinet that Mulroney had withdrawn last fall. That action had been seen at the time as marking the power of Clark, Mulroney's former leadership rival. Now, the committee vice-chairman will be Defense Minister Erik Nielsen, who is also the deputy prime minister, and when Clark was asked by reporters whether he saw the revived committee as a possible dilution of his own power to directly influence foreign policy, he replied, "I would almost say the contrary."

In one break from the inner cabinet's weekend meetings, Mulroney dispatched the members—many of whom speak little or no French—throughout the French-speaking Basle-Canton community to meet his constituents. Finance Minister Michael Wilson dined with the local Chamber of Commerce, House Leader Ray Hnatyshyn attended a French play, Justice Minister Jean Charest met the North Shore Bar Association and Joe Clark visited an aboriginal recycling plant.

Mulroney held a private meeting with his riding candidate after an afternoon visit to the Canadian destroyer Algonquin, named in his honor. He also attended a demonstration of how the sailors prepare one of the ship's 22 Sea Sparrow surface-to-air missiles for launching. Mulroney delivered a speech from the foredeck in praise of the navy's courage and dedication. The speech was greeted with the traditional chorus of three cheers by the assembled crew of 258 men. It was a response that Mulroney and his team hoped to generate in the nation at large as a result of struggles prepared in Bala. Mulroney's return to the resumption of Parliament and the start of his second year in power in September.

the priorities and planning committee, a tightening of commercial relations with South Africa to reflect disapproval of that country's racial policies, a withdrawal of a promised public inquiry into the unemployment insurance system led by former Quebec social affairs minister Claude Paré.

A confirmation of six new ambassadors, including the Paris posting for lawyer Louis Bouchard, 46, a Mulroney friend from student days who helped him campaign in Quebec.

The decision to re-establish the cabinet committee on foreign and defense policy reflected concern within the Mulroney government over the centralization of administrative and planning



Mulroney and his children aboard ship seeking a better political passage

publicity. On the 20-km route into town from the airport, the Prime Minister and his cabinet priorities and planning committee passed a highway sign that warned, "Major accident zone ahead—drive carefully." It was an admission that Mulroney and his most powerful elected colleagues clearly had in mind as they planned administrative changes and strategy in the aftermath of several political accidents, including ferocious riots on social welfare policies, during their first 10 months in office.

Outside their private sessions in Le Manoir hotel and the Bala Commons city hall, a host of announcements and camera opportunities for the news media was designed to portray a bristly businesslike government that is eager to



Mulroney after becoming Commons speaker in 1986, surrounded by people and microphones

Scandal in high places

It was a mere four-minute tape recording, but its contents electrified all of Ottawa. It contained allegations of wild sex parties on Parliament Hill, electronic wiretapping of prime ministerial conversations and unauthorized financial payoffs. The controversy erupted last week when CBC Radio played a tightly edited selection of three hours and 46 minutes of conversation with former House Speaker Lloyd Francis, now an ambassador to Portugal, candidly discussing a series of incidents involving corruption among parliamentarians, secretaries, officials and others in the late 1960s through the early 1980s, and his own efforts to clean up the situation. Then, on the weekend Francis added to the speaker when he declared, "That tape was supposed to be kept for 15 years and sealed."

The original tape, which the speaker, was part of an oral history which the Public Archives of Canada and the Library of Parliament began in 1992. And Ernest Dick, the officer responsible for the project at the National Film, Television and Sound Archives, said that Francis's tape was one of many made in the interesting period. He added, "More than a hundred have been done over the years. They cover virtually every senior parliamentarian." At the same time, both Dick and parliamentarian

librarian Erik Spier said that Francis had not put an embargo on the tape nor had most of the others who took part in the program. Still, few of the tapes are likely to contain revelations as juicy as those contained in the former Speaker's conversation.

Francis said last week that despite his anger at the release of the information, it was all true. This included a statement that "girls in the House of Commons were procured for parties in which members of Parliament were abusing their administrative power." Francis added that a woman of about 30 years old approached him to explain why she did not have a job. He said she told him "I was invited to a party, and I attended a party, and it was in an apartment. And a very senior personnel officer told me I was to take my clothes off and I refused. He took me aside and said, 'If you don't take your clothes off, you're not going to have a job.'"

Francis said that when he was appointed deputy speaker in 1980 he was already aware of the corrupt practices. That was because he had seen a private report prepared by then-audit-general James Macdonald detailing the offences for the Commons speaker at the time, Jeanne St. Pierre. Said Francis: "He wrote two reports. One was public and one was private for the speaker. He

couldn't believe it, but he let credit Jeanne decide not to stand for any measure." With that back, new Commons General, and Francis launched the investigation which led to the discovery of sexual abuse, illegal monetary transactions and the buying of offices.

The inquiry into wiretapping and bugging began in earnest after another report by Macdonald. First, investigators turned their attention to several Commons officials who were under suspicion. Then, said Francis, the officials themselves begged the committee room where the investigations were meeting. Later, when the prime minister's Press Secretary discovered that some phrases that he had used in meetings and conversations were accurately reproduced in print, the investigation gained urgency. Eventually, the bugging ring was broken and the officials were fired or dismissed, said Francis. "It was a system of interesting where there were wires in the House of Commons, which meant they could listen in on every conversation room. They could listen in on the party caucuses and they had a control system set up in the Metropolitan Building" on Wellington Street, near Parliament Hill.

Francis also said that a lot of money was spent on unauthorized payments. In one case, a secretary hired by the Commons from a placement agency had 60 per cent of her salary paid to the agency for six years as part of a kickback operation run by Commons officials. As well, he discovered "20 or 30 names" of people receiving cheques whose dates were not described by any Commons supervisor. He added, "When questions were asked, in some cases the answer was 'Oh yes, we remember it and we'll be on long-term disability.' Well, there were no medical records."

On the portion of the tape that the CBC aired, Francis refers to a practice of using young women employed by the Commons for sex parties attended by MPs and senators who have had access to the entire archive tape say that he substantiated that charge—and thereby—by citing specific names and incidents. But the Francis recording, and many others that are to be played over a 15-year period, said Spier. "When it came to the office two weeks ago there was no indication it was not to be made public. The decision to make it public is arranged between two consenting adults. It came to us with absolutely no indication that it was to be made public. That's the person involved. It's not with us here it disclosed, it is quite clear he does not want it made public for 15 years. It would clearly be inappropriate for us, now that I know that, to release it."

—ROY MACDONALD and
HILARY MACKINNON in OTTAWA

An unemployed lobby

By Andrew Nikiforuk

They call themselves Dandelions and they claim to be as tough as the resilient weed whose name they have adopted. Wearing leaf-green caps and yellow paper facemasks of the ubiquitous weed, they pop up unexpectedly at Conservative constituency meetings in Alberta and ask government members harried questions about the province's 150,000 unemployed, 18 per cent of the work force. Now the Dandelions

heavy-equipment operator who has been unemployed for 20 months. "If we can arrive at the province's unemployed, we can be one of the strongest lobby groups that Alberta will ever see."

Since their disruptive emergence in February, the Dandelions have attempted to score propaganda points against the government with bold demonstrations that attract attention to their cause in a province accustomed to political apathy. From its beginnings, the group has grown to about

movement founded by a handful of out-of-work heavy-equipment operators. Originally, they organized expert consulting sessions on such subjects as obtaining unemployment benefits and meeting mortgage payments, as well as alcohol abuse and the other consequences of enforced idleness. Then their numbers attracted other unemployed individuals in the building trades and soon included lecturers from church leaders, economists, sociologists and politicians such as Edmonton's Liberal mayor, Laurence Dewar.

At first confined to Edmonton, where almost two-thirds of the city's 25,000 construction tradesmen are unemployed, the movement has spread to Calgary and Fort McMurray and is recruiting farmers, small-businessmen and single unemployed mothers. Although formally incorporated as the Association of Political Action Committees, the group chose the dandelion as its emblem because it symbolized "the lowest of the low, which is where we are at," declared Martin McDonnell, the group's secretary and an unemployed crane operator.

The Dandelions have pressed the Longford government to adopt 10 make-work capital projects ranging from reforestation to sewage repair. They have also called for a start on \$15 billion worth of proposed construction projects in the oil industry. In a direct-action demonstration, the Dandelions entered retail stores in Edmonton two months ago, selected consumer goods for purchase and then told the store owners they could not buy them because they were unemployed and suggested that the retailers should write to their MPs calling for job creation.

But apart from forcing people like Mac to attend constituency meetings to avoid Dandelion disruptions, the leaders of the group concede that they have had little tangible impact on the government. Manpower Minister Bruce Latta responds that the province's \$1.5-billion worth of public works projects is the highest per capita construction spending in the country and is keeping the employment situation stable. Edmonton MLA Keith Alexander, who has had several private meetings with Dandelion members, says "they're not really whips go out of style, because why matters but better find another job."

The Dandelions plan to broaden their appeal to make more electors aware of their grievances before the next provincial election, which is expected next spring. Their lobbying could affect the fortunes of the 17 Liberals. Terry was in particular, many of whom saw their ridings by thin margins in the 1992 election. "They're scared," said John Kananagh, the Dandelions' public relations co-ordinator. "They might be Dandelions after the next election."

3,000 adherents—there is no membership fee or fee—and it has motivated crowds of more than 300 people to disrupt Tory riding meetings and stage noisy marches demanding jobs. Among the group's increasing appeal is a province dominated for 14 years by Premier Peter Lougheed's Conservatives, the small alternative parties—New Democrats, Liberals, Reformists, Communists and even the extreme-right Scholar Institute—have tried to win the Dandelions' favor, without success. Said Opposition Leader Ray Martin, whose New Democratic Party holds only two seats in the legislature, compared with 35 Conservatives and two Reformists—the Party members. "They're not behaving in the normal Alberta way of having in the several Alberta way of accepting things. They are fighting back, and they've brought the issue of unemployment front and centre."

The Dandelions started as a self-help



Dandelions protesting unemployment: "not behaving in the normal Alberta way"

How (as is true their lobbying efforts toward the campaign to replace Peter Lougheed as Conservative party leader and premier. The group will invite leadership candidates to speak at its weekly Monday meetings held at a union hall in Edmonton. Dandelion chairman Vero French said last week that the group plans to be "right outside the door" at the leadership convention in the fall. He added, "Whoever gets in is going to get the same pressure Lougheed got and maybe more."

In five months, the Dandelions have grown into a potent pressure group for government action to speed recovery from a stubborn economic slump. Predominantly middle-aged, skilled and out of work—many of them lost their homes, cars and retirement savings to Alberta's recession—the Dandelions are political activists but, in fact, fairly unimportant. Said French, a 56-year-old

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Duce and Landry: striving for wider support without turning principles

The New Democrats reach out

When Ed Broadbent made his first appearance in the House of Commons as the new leader of the New Democratic Party 30 years ago last week, Pierre Trudeau welcomed him with a double-edged greeting. As applause from all members subsided, the Prime Minister of the day congratulated the 39-year-old member of Parliament from Oshawa, Ont., for his fourth consecutive election at the NDP convention two days earlier to replace David Lewis as party leader. Declared Trudeau, in general laughter: "We on the side with him will—but not too well."

That was prophetic. Under Broadbent the NDP has done well—but not well enough to overcome the federal two-party tradition wherein power has changed hands between the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives. Broadbent's NDP has retained its role as an often potent pressure group for social and economic reform in the tradition of its 1960s predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). But from 1961 to 1981 as a coalition of the CCF and labor unions, the NDP has never elected an MP from Quebec, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island, and has never won more than 30 per cent of the popular vote in a federal general election.

Still, in last September's federal vote the NDP managed to elect 38 members, down by only two from the 1980 election, while the Liberals collapsed to 46 seats from 147. Ever since, the NDP has been trying to move up from third place. At an explicit policy convention held in Ot-

tawa during the Canada Day weekend, the party endorsed a strategy aimed at broadening its base geographically—notably in Quebec—but also reformed policies which have alienated some middle-of-the-road voters.

To promote the NDP's presence in Quebec, a party committee chaired by Broadbent and a federal caucus group led by Ottawa MP Michael Cassidy have been set up. As well, a former Ontario MP and longtime federal leadership candidate, John Harewood, a native of Quebec City from mixed Irish and French stock who is known by the name Jean-Paul Blais in Quebec, has launched a provincial wing in the hope of winning support at the expense of the troubled Parti Québécois. At the same time, the convention decided to gesture from the party's so-called Left Caucus by reaffirming policies that call for Canada's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and also urge public ownership of the nation's major economic institutions.

Delegates also elected by acclamation Ottawa Mayor Maurice Duceau, 57, to the second position of party president. Some members regard Duceau, who will receive her \$62,000-a-year mayoral post in November, as a potential national leader, should Broadbent decide to step down. But Broadbent, after a decade on the job, seemed comfortably ensconced, declaring on the convention's final day: "We have no perfect candidate but, by God, we know where we are as"—MICHAEL BORTH in Oshawa, with Bruce Wallace in Montreal.

The dauphin in the lists

In friends and supporters call him Le Dauphin, and last week, on his 36th birthday, Pierre Marc Johnson, son of the late Daniel Johnson, former premier of Quebec, announced his candidacy for the throne of the Parti Québécois, which Premier René Lévesque vacated last month. Johnson, Lévesque's justice minister and minister for intergovernmental affairs, joined cabinet colleague Bernard Landry, 48, who holds the external trade and international relations portfolio, as the first two candidates for the PQ leadership. Others, including Agriculture Minister Jean Gauthier, 45, Finance Minister Yves Ducharme, 46, and Status of Women Minister Pauline Marois, 46, were expected to enter the race this week. But it is Johnson who is most feared by former premier Robert Bourassa's opposition Liberals and by the independentist within the PQ itself. Said one Liberal member of the national assembly, Richard Proulx: "It is the one guy that can turn it around for them. He is the one we worry about."

A holder of degrees in both law and medicine, Johnson entered the race as the early favorite. The leadership will be decided on Sept. 29 in a unique vote by everyone who registers and pays a \$5 PQ membership fee by Aug. 15. Although recent polls indicate the Liberals are well ahead of the PQ—even an intensifying poll taken in April shows the party trailing by 30 points—a mid-May poll by *Le Devoir* reflected Johnson's strength. While Quebecers then favored Bourassa over Lévesque by 49 to 40 per cent as best able to govern the province, Bourassa's lead shrank to seven points when asked against Johnson. Announcing his candidacy, Johnson said that his supporters will stress that the PQ was never elected and won the next election, which must be called by next April. Said Johnson: "I am running because I believe in a Quebec which is developing itself in new ways."

Both Johnson and Landry have angered the party's long-reigning advocates of the hard-line separatist agenda. The hard-lineers regard Johnson, who grew up in the predominantly anglophone Notre-Dame-de-Grâce area of Montreal, as a quasi-federalist who helped undermine the party's decision, reached at its annual meeting in Juneau, to shelve the independence issue. And Landry was only inkblot last week as he reaffirmed his belief in Quebec independence, stressing instead that his leadership campaign will concentrate on the economy.—ANTHONY WALSH BORTH in Montreal.

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Gorbachev (right), Gromyko; Brezhnev in an earlier bid to revitalize a faded nation and a surprise rescaling

WORLD

Gorbachev closes his grip

By Michael Posner

Brisk and businesslike, with his black leather portfolio tucked beneath his arm, Mikhail Gorbachev clutched up the stairs of Moscow's Grand Kremlin Palace en route to his offices. Behind him in their seats the other 12 members of the ruling Communist Party Politburo. The powerful Central Committee and the remaining 38 members of the Presidium moved on to the next item on last week's agenda—the environment. But for Gorbachev, the party's general secretary, the week-end meeting of the Supreme Soviet had already completed its most important work. In only one day it had approved a shuffling of senior personnel that refuted Gorbachev's accumulation of power. The results, said one American expert, amounted to nothing less than "a palace revolution."

Indeed, Gorbachev's power play had been taking shape from the moment he succeeded the late Konstantin Chernenko four months ago, the new Soviet

leader is a man both eager to revitalize his country and ready to remove those who stand in his way. With more speed than almost any Soviet leader thought possible, Gorbachev has begun to spread decades of bureaucratic deadwood and put the first stamp of his own authority on Soviet politics. "What he has is a sense of urgency," said University of Toronto political scientist Timothy Col-

son. "He is finally reacting to the widespread images of the Soviet Union as stagnant in every respect except security and the military."

Last week's revolution began, with the abrupt and ruthless dismissal of Politburo member Grigory Romanov, Gorbachev's rival for the leadership after the death of Chernenko. A longtime Leningrad party boss and minister in charge of the Soviet Union's massive defense industries,

Romanov officially resigned, citing ill health—often a euphemism in the Soviet Union for alcoholism. But few observers doubt that Gorbachev had long ago decided that Romanov would not be part of his new team. Jokes about the Romanov family name, which he shared with the last dynasty of the czars, have been making the rounds in Moscow—an omen of impending demise.

Gorbachev's next moves were even more startling. Like his predecessors—Chernenko, Yuri Andropov and Leonid Brezhnev—the new leader had been expected to claim the title of Soviet president. Although the position is honorary, observers worried that the youthful Gorbachev, at 54 the youngest party leader since Mikhail Gorbachev, would use it to consolidate his power. Instead, in swift suc-



cession he named veteran Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 75, to the presidency and appointed Edward Shevardnadze, a 67-year-old Politburo member without any formal experience in diplomacy, to replace Gromyko. Said Duke University Soviet scholar Jerry Hough: "Shevardnadze is a total outsider. By going from a foreign minister with the most experience to one with the least experience, Gorbachev has broken with the politics of the past and shown a determination to be his own foreign minister."

Then, emphasizing the sense of new beginnings, Moscow and Washington last week announced that Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan will hold a two-day summit in Geneva next Nov. 18-20. It would be the President's first meeting with a Soviet leader and the

first in Moscow as part of a private visit by Brezhnev to the Soviet Union to discuss arms control. These announcements, observers said, confirmed Gorbachev's intention to play a major role in shaping Soviet foreign policy, and it indicated that the so-called Euro-pessimism—a policy that attempts to drive wedges in the Atlantic Alliance—will continue to dominate the Kremlin's diplomatic strategy. Said Alexander Adler, a Paris-based journalist and author of several books on Soviet politics: "He wants to play the European power against acceptance of Star Wars."

The silver-haired Shevardnadze, still first secretary of the Communist Party in his native Georgia, a southern Soviet republic, is expected to operate in the mold of traditional Soviet foreign min-

ister with Kossighin, the Communist youth movement, developed an early interest in agricultural reform and campaigned against official corruption. "Is there anything that is not far side here?" Shevardnadze once asked a Communist Party meeting in Georgia. "If there is, I cannot think of it."

Americans who have met him say that Shevardnadze is open, confident and witty. When a visiting U.S. congressional delegation traveled to Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, in 1976, the first secretary thanked the Americans for bringing the accompanying high-ranking Soviet politicians with them from Moscow. Added Shevardnadze: "It's a fact I've been trying to accomplish for years." The Reagan administration will make its first formal assessment of the new



Gorbachev meeting Soviet officials during a tour of Leningrad's Victory Square; an unguarded instant with Kremlin tradition

first superpower summit since President Jimmy Carter joined Brezhnev—who died in November, 1982—in Vienna in 1979 to sign the still-cancelled Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II.

The talks, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, would be both "serious and substantive," said Soviet state stage for further meetings between the two men in their respective capitals. The precise agenda for the Geneva meeting will be fixed during the next several months, but the current impasse at the endless arms control talks in Italy is by one of the major subjects for discussion.

In advance of the Geneva session, Moscow also disclosed that Gorbachev will make an official visit to France in early October. And last week he met with former prime minister Pierre Tra-

vier, discussing foreign policy decisions but not making them. He speaks only two languages—Georgian and Russian—and outside the Soviet bloc his travel has been limited.

Still, declared Dimitri Simes, the Moscow-based associate of Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "Shevardnadze is probably one of the most gifted, most dynamic, most accomplished and most ruthless of Soviet officials." He added that the new foreign minister is cut from the same cloth as Gorbachev himself. "He moves very fast and he is a risk taker. He adjusts to new situations swiftly—and with brutal effectiveness."

Certainly, Shevardnadze's rise through the party ranks has been meteoric. Like Gorbachev, he started his ca-

reer with Kossighin, the Communist youth movement, developed an early interest in agricultural reform and campaigned against official corruption. "Is there anything that is not far side here?" Shevardnadze once asked a Communist Party meeting in Georgia. "If there is, I cannot think of it."

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Thus, before last week's top-level

changes, the pace of Gorbachev's first 200 days had been hectic. Perestroika's first party secretaries have already been dismissed, most on grounds of incompetence or corruption. Nor has the new leader hesitated to criticize—blatantly and publicly—officials who have fallen short of his performance requirements. A much angrier in Moscow, Gorbachev cited OM Minister Viktor Fyodorov's repeated promise of industrial improvement. "An obvious," said Gorbachev, "he did not keep his word." As well, he derided slinging criticism at other government ministers—using the

it before—and related. But in a recent speech Gorbachev said that the leadership itself was responsible for the nation's stagnation. "They are hiding from us and making excuses that they are carrying out an experiment. Years and years pass, experiments are carried out—but nothing changes." With that, he seemed to indicate that the leadership has laid down in the past. But that is a quality which the new leader appears to have in abundance.

Still, there is a wide gap between Gorbachev's immense ambitions and the nation's ability to fulfill them. Al-



Factory workers in L'viv: a yawning gap between ambitions and Soviet abilities

kind of sharp language that has not been heard in the Soviet Union since the turbulent days of Nikita Khrushchev. When the audience applauded his remarks, Gorbachev, speaking on live national television, commented: "Good! If the ministers themselves applaud, then perhaps at last the ice is melting." Gorbachev's allusion was to the peak ice that annually blocks Soviet supply ships on the North Siberian sea route during the winter months.

Clearly, Gorbachev is impatient for reform. When the new five-year plan (1986-90) was presented to the Politburo last month, he promptly sent it back, demanding that it address returns with quotas and targets that would meet his minimal objectives. Among them, a four-percent growth rate in the economy and sharp increases in rates of formation of capital investment and productivity, which is now slightly more than half what it is in the industrialized West. The vocabulary of reform is familiar: decentralization, autonomy, quality, reward for merit. Soviet businessmen, deeply entrenched and distrustful of bright initiative, have heard

though the work force is growing in the Western republics of Soviet Asia, it is declining in the European area of the old Russian. And while the Soviet Union boasts huge reserves of oil and minerals, about 80 per cent of those lie east of the Ural Mountains, where labor and investment are in short supply. Dedicated Gorbachev in a May speech in Leningrad: "To reach them, we will have to build roads and cities. This is extremely costly. In short, natural resources are becoming less and more expensive."

To approach his growth targets Gorbachev will need the consolidation of powerful party workers down the line. The importance of last week's changes, and of an earlier set of Politburo promotions last April, is that they may now open windows directly to Gorbachev are beginning to

take command of key ministries. In turn, Gorbachev's men can be expected to install the needed reforms in points of influence across the country and carry on the campaign for more efficiency and less waste in the economy. One key Gorbachev deputy, Gennadiy Yegorov, heads the department of cadets and will choose delegates to the Communist Party's 27th Congress, which is expected to endorse Gorbachev's new directives.

Most observers agree that Gorbachev's exhortations for industrial change have so far produced minimal results. (One notable exception, liquid-crystal display digital clock radios, apparently as a result of improvements in the electricity supply, the clocks now keep time. Previously, they often lost as much as 26 minutes overnight.) The Soviet leader's anti-alcoholism drive has also failed to register. The drinking age has been raised to 21. From 24, liquor stores are open only five hours a day and there are tougher penalties for drunk driving and drinking on the job. But Russia outside wine and vodka shops from early in the morning, and Soviet officials forced to drink Pepsi or Fanta at midday lunches are still to be seen enjoying a bottle of spirits as dusk falls.

Still, most Soviet citizens have been favorably impressed with Gorbachev himself—and with his wife, Raisa. Although he is still far more isolated from the masses than even the most reformist Western politicians, Gorbachev has gone into the streets and factories of Moscow and Leningrad to engage startled ordinary Soviet workers in conversations—an unprecedented break with Khrushchev tradition. With similar freedom for long-standing critics, the Soviet first family, including Raisa, daughter Irina and granddaughter Oksana, have appeared frequently in Soviet television coverage of political events. Commentators do not mention their names, but the cameras regularly pick them out at Kremlin rallies and at Soviet Square parades. Soviet viewers have apparently understood the message.

It was repeated again last week briefly and methodically, Mikhail Gorbachev has moved to a new team. His mission has been defined and the orders issued. "The ice is melting," Gorbachev said. And the confused world of Soviet politics is unlikely ever to be the same.

With Boris Yeltsin in Moscow, Brygid Janina in Paris, William Loewen in Washington and Henry Kissinger in Ottawa,

Shavachvishvili outside



A reward for the great survivor

From Yalta to Geneva, from Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan, he was the diplomatic voice of the Soviet Union. But last week he was the Soviet Union's greatest survivor of Kremlin power struggles—was given a new stage on which to perform the largely ceremonial part of president of the U.S.S.R. His appointment ended a remarkable 46-year career in the foreign ministry that spanned the time between the Second World War and the closing summit meetings and the current Geneva arms control talks. During that time Gromyko served six Soviet leaders, from Josef Stalin to Mikhail Gorbachev, dealt with nine U.S. Presidents and 14 American secretaries of state. Gromyko, 76 next week, is the only man alive who can say of virtually every important East-West meeting in the past four decades, "I was there."

Winston Churchill threw open his arms at him during the Yalta talks of 1945 which partitioned Europe after the Second World War. John F. Kennedy called him a liar during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. But ultimately the unflappable Gromyko, a door, thin-lipped intellectual noted for his remarkable memory and self-control, earned the respect of his peers. Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger described him as "formidable." And Cyrus Vance, secretary of state under President Jimmy Carter, said he was "a man of great skill and high intelligence." Norval Hornum, the noted American Khrushchevologist, once said of Gromyko that "if he was not as he is, he would be a very interesting man." "My personality does not interest me," he once said. "I am only an executor."

That was certainly true during his years under the late Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev. "I'll ask Gromyko to take his trousers off and sit on a black jet, he will obey—and he will stay there until I tell him to move." But as his political skills were appreciated in the West, Gromyko acquired increasing authority—particularly in matters of affecting U.S.-Soviet relations. Indeed, some experts speculated last week that Gromyko's U.S. fixation—to the exclusion of other areas—was one reason Gorbachev chose to lead a new foreign minister.

Born in 1909 in the village of Gromyko, near Minsk, to poor, virtually illiterate parents, Gromyko earned a degree at the Institute of Economics in Moscow and taught at the Academy of Sciences before joining the diplomatic service in

1939, at 30. Gromyko joined the Soviet Embassy in Washington as counselor to the ambassador. Four years later he was named ambassador to the United States, the youngest in Soviet history. Gromyko took part in summits at Yalta, Potsdam, and in 1945 he helped draft the charter of the United Nations. In 1946 he became deputy for-



Gromyko: 'Mr. Xpert,' the executor

foreign minister and permanent representative to the UN. It was there that Gromyko earned the nickname "Mr. Xpert" by delivering 25 Soviet vetoes of Western resolutions and creating a US "Xpert"—whitting out of a 1948 Security Council debate over the presence of Soviet troops in Iran.

In 1952 and 1953 Gromyko was ambassador to London and he became foreign minister in 1957. His rise in the diplomatic corps was steady, but it was not until 1973 that Gromyko was made a member of the Communist Party's ru-

ling Politburo. Because of his foreign postings, Gromyko never established a party power base—a factor that precluded a reach for the leadership but also secured his loyalty to Gorbachev. Commenting on a Politburo photo-op, Gromyko once said: "You know how it is here, a bit like the Bermuda Triangle. From time to time one of us disappears."

But Gromyko endured—explaining that Khrushchev's fall was the work through the Cold War tensions that developed in the late 1950s. Then, he proposed Soviet thinking on the space race that followed the launching of the Soviet Sputnik I satellite in 1957, the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis the following year, the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979), East-West detente in the 1970s, Star Wars and successive rounds of nuclear arms control talks.

In his early diplomatic years, Gromyko was called the grim "grom"—the word means thunder in Russian. But as the years passed he became "amiable Andre" to his associates, occasionally allowing his dry sense of humor to surface. Meeting Kissinger for the first time at a UN reception, he approached him and said, "You look like The Henry Kissinger." Asked his opinion of a New York Times article about himself, Gromyko replied: "About half is true and half is false. Since the Times is a balanced newspaper, that is to be expected. But his wit was not without a cutting edge. Gromyko once described Canada as "the boring second fiddle in the American symphony."

Throughout his career Gromyko avoided the cocktail party, preferring to stay at home and play chess with his wife, Lydia, or to read Shakespeare, Goethe, Balzac and Hugo. An editor of an economics review in the 1930s, he wrote three academic books—two under the pen name G. Andropov. In a recent collection of speeches Gromyko wrote: "People say that to be a peacemaker is simple and safe. I have been and remain an optimist. My optimism is based on my faith in human intelligence." As the newly elected president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Gromyko vowed to apply that optimism to "economic and social development, and raising the welfare of the Soviet people." Few more dedicated or determined men could have been chosen for the task. —Hal Q. Brown, with William Loewen in Ottawa and William Loewen in Washington

Mugabe's sweep to victory

The process was slow and frustrating but orderly. Black Zimbabwean voters stood in long lines—at one point, 4,000 people queued up in the western province of Matabeleland—to cast ballots last week in the nation's first general election since independence in 1980. Election officials blamed the slowdown on stringent registration rules designed to prevent corruption. As well, Zimbabwean urban areas are often similar or identical. There are an estimated 16,000 John Moyo in Matabeleland alone, requesting poll work-

men People's Union (ZANU), all of them in his native Matabeleland. By contrast, Ian Smith, the former leader of the white-minority government that ruled the breakaway province of Rhodesia from 1965 until 1978, won't sit in the 90 seats reserved for whites. Under Zimbabwe's British-sponsored constitution, the whites' seats are guaranteed until 1990. His success brought an angry outburst from Mugabe. But the 60-year-old leader, following the apparently held white vote on June 17, did have never scripted all that only 25,000 votes can be counted

(thousands of his disillusioned supporters in the newly integrated armed forces deserted the military, which was dominated by Mugabe's new former guerrillas). A subsequent government crackdown on rebel activity in Matabeleland allegedly led to thousands of abductions, disappearances and deaths among the province's minority Mabelele tribe, which supports Mugabe, and tarnished Mugabe's international reputation.

International human rights officials reported that last week's election was remarkably peaceful. They suggested that Mugabe, mindful of his lead in the polls, made a special effort to hold fair elections as proof of ZANU's integrity and Zimbabwe's reformist maturity. The governing party allowed mass rallies by opposition members, including the largest in the nation's five-year history, when 60,000 supporters of Moyo's party converged on Bulawayo's Bulawayo Stadium. As well, Mugabe granted opposition factions unprecedented access to the state-controlled media, which had slanted support for the government. Said Mike Arund, chairman of the Catholic Church and Peace Commission, a church-supported human rights group that frequently clashes with Mugabe over armed forces excesses in Matabeleland: "The government really wants to see free and fair elections." Added Arund, "It is trying very hard to ensure that the world will see it like that."

For observers now expect Mugabe to remain on his one-party plan. But there are questions about how quickly he will move to outlaw the opposition. During the 10-day campaign that preceded last week's vote, ZANU reported that the opposition had

porters killed their emphasis from the one-party plan to the prime minister's recent offer they found that Mugabe himself was more popular than his controversial policies. Instead, they sought to end urban voters' disenfranchisement with the nation's declining economy, weakened by high inflation and—until recently—the worst drought in the country's modern history. As a result, the government recently reduced the national minimum wage by 15 per cent and offered substantial pay hikes to Zimbabwe's 150,000-member civil service, which is concentrated in the capital of Harare.

Still, observers warn that Mugabe will face a far tougher challenge in the months ahead as he seeks to reorganize his one-party rule with deep, lingering inter-tribal suspicions.

—JAMES MITCHELL

with Mugabe's Mother Ngonzo.



Death campaigning: a young nation wrecked by intertribal violence and economic decline

ers to search laboriously through mountains of computer printouts. The process seemed to be as protracted as the nation's electoral officials extended the polling to four days from two. But the confusion and grey mist of one of the coldest winters in memory did not prevent a massive turnout. In the end, the nation's 8.9 million voters returned the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe with a convincing majority. Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU) took at least 80 of the 90 seats available to blacks in the 100-member national House of Assembly.

For Mugabe, the outcome was a vindication of his five years in power. But for his chief opponent, Joshua Nkomo, it was a stunning failure. Nkomo, the prime minister's former guerrilla war comrade turned liberal archrival, was at least 14 seats for his Zimbabwe Affir-

to 30 seats in parliament." Added Mugabe: "We will not live with that indignity for much longer."

Mugabe's solution lies in his plans to abrogate the 1980 constitution, which awarded Zimbabwe as a multiparty democracy. Instead, he intends to introduce a new document that would make the nation a one-party socialist state, with his taste for power at its helm. In defense of the plan, the government insists that the nation's post-independence troubles, marked by intertribal violence and economic decline, result from the far-reaching rivalry between the prime minister and Nkomo. Although the party known as Mugabe's government in 1980, guerrillas and jockeying for influence around Nkomo's election in 1982, when government security forces uncovered an arms cache in Matabeleland, the base base for Nkomo's party. When Nkomo was fired,

Washington seeks vengeance



Foreign greeting the returning hostages: rejoicing tempered by a sense of outrage

With waving flags and the traditional rattle of firecrackers, Americans marked their independence day last week—the 30th anniversary of the birth of the republic. But they also took time to celebrate a homecoming. After 11 days in captivity 39 American citizens held hostage by Shiite Muslim militants in Beirut returned to their homes and families (Maclean's July 30). But the rejoicing was tempered by a lingering sense of outrage that Americans had once again fallen victim to terrorism—and a feeling that someone should pay.

At Andrews Air Force Base, where President Ronald Reagan greeted the former hostages on July 8, a hand-painted sign held up by well-wishers proclaimed "Free the Hostages." And at "Four Days of July" celebrations around the country, yellow ribbons fluttered alongside the Stars and Stripes, a reminder that some Americans remained captive in Lebanon.

In his welcoming speech, Reagan enlarged Robert B. Smith, the navy diver brutally beaten and killed by the hijackers of the Trans World Airlines jet "Coke" as your return in sub-

stantial," he told the group that had flown in from Frankfurt after spending the previous day at a U.S. Air Force base. "That is our pain at what was done to that son of America. His mother must be brought to justice." As Reagan spoke, U.S. officials began organizing an international boycott of Beirut airport and pledged to revoke U.S. landing privileges for Lebanon's Middle East Airlines—to the outrage of the frustrated Lebanese government.

Washington also asked Lebanon either to extradite or to try the two hijackers, who took the flight with an airframe of terror after it left Athens airport on June 11 with 150 passengers and crew on board. The pair later screamed control of most of the hostages in Shab'at Beit, leader of the Shiite Arab militia, who released them on June 30 after pressure from President Ronald Reagan. It was the last Beirut hijacking. White House aides confirmed last week, who used his considerable leverage in Lebanon to resolve the crisis.

Rejoicing the hijackers to trial will not be easy. Given the anxiety in

Lebanon, however, said it was doubtful that authorities there had the means to take the pair into custody for extradition, even if they wanted to. Kidnapping the hijackers and taking them to the United States also seemed a dubious option. U.S. officials said last week that they had learned the identity of the hijackers and were prepared to take "unilateral" action if extradition efforts failed. But finding the hijackers in the labyrinthine alleyways of West Beirut—meaning they had not already fled from Lebanon—would be nearly impossible. Frustrated, the administration said it was considering offering over \$500,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of each hijacker. In response, the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad group warned that the seven remaining U.S. hostages—kidnapped separately over the past 10 months, about six French, British and Iranian citizens—would face "a black day" if the United States relented.

Meanwhile, Israel released 380 of the remaining 715 Lebanese detainees in the Alik prison camp. Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin insisted that there was no connection between that move and demands by the hijackers that the detainees be returned. But Reagan administration officials said Jerusalem had secured Washington privately that if the American captives were freed, the Lebanese would be released. Some refused to distinguish between the original hijackers, members of the Transjordanian Islamic Party (Party of God) who had and terrorized the Americans, and the more moderate Arab militiamen, who, many Lebanese maintain, released their lives. Others said the two factions were closely linked. "These are animals and they should be treated as animals," said Richard Herberg, 33, one of four passengers with Jewish-sounding names who had been captured from the rest. "They should be brought to justice somehow."

As the former hostages relived their ordeal in interviews, public sentiment appeared to grow far more anti-retaliatory strikes against the terrorists. Reagan's national security adviser, Robert McFarlane, indicated that the president was at least on a terrorist training camp in the Middle East. But observers warned that such an attack might be counterproductive—fueling hatred of the United States and leading to yet more attacks on U.S. citizens.

—MARCUS GREY

with Amos Aharon in Washington.

Free hostages: justice





Scene of destruction in the suburb of Bay At Rasaynah, after it became an enclave.

LEBANON

A dying city's many faces

Shortly after the ordeal of 88 American hostages ended last week, the armed struggle for dominance among Beirut's warring factions resumed. The protagonists, Muslim militias belonging to rival Shi'ite, Sunni and Druze religious sects, as well as various shadowy splinter groups, fled from the European bureau chief, David North, who covered the 25-day crisis, had ample opportunity to study the twisting fortunes of the organizations vying to rule what is now the world's most dangerous city. His report.

It is Sunday in West Beirut and 88 Americans are prepared for their voyage to freedom. On the lawns, sandy beaches, thousands of families use themselves or even in the public Mediterranean surf. In cars cruise and stalls with inflated plastic cups generate a steady trade. It might be the French Riviera or the Costa Brava. But in the suburb of Bay At Rasaynah, three kilometers away, the atmosphere seems with tension. A Mediterranean atmosphere since the safety catch on its as-47 automatic rifle. An Arab spokesman, Ali Hammad, finds off journalists hoping to interview the hostages. Suddenly, something snaps. As the journalists press their case, the Arab gunman's five comrades, pale with anger. In an instant, he works the breech and pumps a shot into the wall of a nearby house. Everyone is shrouded with plastic in her companions record in terrified shock, a woman journalist says against

the wall, weeping uncontrollably.

In July, 1982, West Beirut means many faces. So does the Arab movement. At the top there is Nabih Berri, 48, host of the recent *ABC* (Arabic Broadcasting Corp. according to local radio) TV extravaganza. Born, broad-shouldered under the open-necked shirt that he favors, nondescriptly plays inconspicuous advocate of the Shi'ite cause and disinterested broker in someone else's hate-tongue dilemma. Somehow he fractured English—he rarely finishes a sentence—helps, rather than hinders, him

Facilitate political and spiritual goals.



in his two conflicting roles.

In contrast, sword-in-hand and Arafat Haddad dispenses the Shi'ite version of sword reason. In front French, English and Lebanese. A former colonel in Lebanese Army intelligence, Haddad is a distinguished-looking man in his late 30s with a crew cut, hair swept back from a broad forehead. Intensely dressed, scarcely pausing in the field, over-crowded basement of Berri's fortified headquarters, Haddad discusses with equal ease about the difference between the Christian east of the Western mind and the more basic, abstract thinking of the Arabs. At times, he also displays a refreshing candor. An angry UN journalist interrupts a homily on civilized behavior, Shi'ite style, to ask whether Haddad remembers hijacking a civilian jet. "That's a good question," replies Haddad, with his usual, very amiable, a pause he replies, "No, I do not."

Berri and Haddad are the public faces of Amal. Around them is a shadowy power structure of religious, political and military leaders backed by strong-armed men in black T-shirts and green combat pants, who are walking armloads of handgrenades, automatic rifles, grenades and rocket launchers. They are an afterthought, hair-trigger lot—at once menacing and menacing elements of the Lebanese wilderness.

In theory, Amal's estimated 15,000 fighters virtually control West Beirut and large tracts of southern Lebanon. But in practice their role is constantly challenged by a wide variety of Lebanese opponents. Among them: Wahid Junaidi and his Druze militia, the city's large Sunni population, many of them traders and shopkeepers, and Lebanon's Palestinians, who will neither forgive nor forget Amal's history when it took over Beirut's Palestinian refugee camps, which housed 200,000 people, in the weeks of Lebanese civil war. They believe the hostage crisis began on June 14. There is also increasing rivalry, with political and religious overtones, between mainstream Amal's comparatively moderate leadership, allied with Syria, and the pro-Iranian fundamentalist Hezbollah Party of God.

By tacit agreement, the main protagonists suspended their historic rivalries while there was more pressing business—the hijacking—to settle. Even then, Amal and Mouassat (Syrian) militiamen fought a 30-minute gun battle around West Beirut's main shopping area, the Hama district. In the struggle, despite an official suspension, the settling of scores continued, with shootings and kidnappings. A Beirut TV crew that risked a journey to Ba'albek, a Shi'ite stronghold in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, was turned back by an Amal official who declared, "We are fighting Hezbollah. If you go any farther, you are certain to be

killed." And hours after the hostages had left, Amal and Druze rivalry exploded in a three-hour fire fight in the narrow, crowded streets of West Beirut.

Hezbollah is certain to play an important role in any future conflict. Originally only a religious concept—its title comes from a Koran verse promising triumph to those who follow the party of God—Hezbollah has become the third-largest Muslim military force in Lebanon—at least 3,000 fighters—after the Amal and Druze militias. But Hezbollah is only one element in a three-cornered alliance that includes several hundred Iranian Revolutionary Guards, stationed in Ba'albek since the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and Islamic Amal, a splinter group which broke away

responsibility to Hezbollah and its Iranian sponsors. That it soon became apparent that Amal activists also were closely involved. As Haddad repeatedly asserted, such incidents are usually the work of tiny militias drawn from many factions, with diverse goals. For some participants, the hijacking was aimed at securing the release of 766 prisoners captured when the Israeli withdrew from Lebanon. For others, it was meant to embarrass Nabih Berri and hence weaken the secular orientation of Amal. And some saw it as a useful vehicle for earning U.S. public opinion against Israel.

Still, for Beirut residents and 300 odd journalists assigned to the hostage drama, the theorizing was secondary to the



Palestinians display weapons used to fight the Amal militia; four weeks of battery

from the Amal mainstay arm in 1982. Insiders say that Hezbollah has no leadership to the classical sense. Its spokesman is a young cleric, Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Amin. Hezbollah's reported spiritual guide is a Shi'ite scholar, Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, although some Western analysts suspect that Fadlallah plays a political role as well. But Fadlallah was quick to condemn the hijacking and does not share the determination of radical Shi'ites to create an Islamic state in Lebanon. The sect's social and religious mix of 15 million Christians and 3.5 million Muslims, he says, makes it unsuitable for Islamization. But that perspective has been in dispute since a religious extremist in the Iranian mold.

The perplexing mazes may provide important clues to any analysis of current Shi'ite scenes and intentions in Lebanon. When the hijacking began, many experts were quick to attribute

much of carrying out daily duties—and leading captives. The apparent lack of any June 27 of a freelance photographer employed by *Newswatch* magazine was a reminder that staying healthy was not just a matter of avoiding spy-baiters. Since 1985 more than 150 foreign nationals have suffered serious fate, including Associated Press Service Chief Terry Anderson—six of seven Americans still held hostage.

Those residents gave a new dimension to a remark by a Shi'ite priest, Sheikh Abdel Aziz Qabbani, in a sermon last month. Alluding to the emergence of Lebanon's 12 million Shi'ites—one the most downtrodden elements of society—an Imam, Qabbani said, "The guest has been let out of the bottle and will never be put back again." Seeking to avoid being crushed by the guest will, for the foreseeable future, be a major preoccupation for operators and participants alike in Lebanon's continuing agony. ☐

INDIA

Seeking clues to a tragedy

Day and night, search vessels plied the still waters of the North Arabian off the Indian coast. For most of last week they hunted without success for signs of the "black box" data recorder carried by Air India Flight 182 when it plunged into the sea on June 25, killing all 329 on board. Then, crash investigators reported a breakthrough. Using a Canadian-made deep-sea listening device, the Irish Navy ship *Acleto* picked up a faint radio signal that apparently came from the flight recorder, which aviation experts say will help to explain the plane's disappearance. At week's end, a robot submarine spotted 18 large sections of the plane—and possibly bodies—sprung over a 20-kilometer stretch of ocean floor, 4,700 feet below the surface. The sea-trip was equipped with two mechanical arms that can retrieve wreckage—and found a section of the aircraft's tail in which the black box would normally be located. Said a spokesman for the investigators: "We can lift the wreckage to the surface just as soon as we are given the all clear."

Until then, investigators will remain uncertain about whether the Air India jet was destroyed by a bomb, as is widely suspected, or was torn apart because of structural failure. A top Indian official, Civil Aviation Secretary S. S. Shilpa, said last week that the 322 bodies recovered from the tragedy showed that the victims' injuries were caused by a sudden deceleration. In the process, that indicated that the Boeing 747 had exploded, he said. But another official, an Air India Consulting Aviation Safety Board, indicated that the examination was inconclusive.

Pakistan, Canada, the United States and India were off working in the theory that two Sikh terrorists, believed to be Lal and Amarjit Singh, were involved in the bombing and used some hijacking exploits in New Tokyo International Airport in Japan. In the second incident two baggage handlers died when a bomb exploded in baggage from a C-47 jet from Vancouver. Indeed, speculation that the two tragedies were linked intensified last week when Air India's managing director, Dhruv Bhat, revealed that one passenger, whose he did not name, had booked seats on both flights. But as long as the flight recorders remain lost, he added, the tragic fate of Flight 182 will remain a puzzle. With the help of Philip Windsor in London and Bruce Whipple in Montreal.



Reveries: the ability to say no to anybody and anything

A converted church. The Tin God-murderer's lair. In a video screen and chairs swimming beneath a Plexiglas dance floor are some of the most eccentric characteristics of the highly successful and controversial

nightclubs that **Paul Gaiter**, 35, has opened in three major American cities. The self-made millionaire from Cornwall, Ont., started his limelight entertainment scenes in 1975 and has attracted celebrities and consumers alike with stained-glass windows, a pipe organ and a computerized chandelier in an old reformatory. The result is a blending of the sacred and profane on, as he says, puts it, "a blessing in disguise." A



Worked shark dancing

sexvie Catholic altar boy, Gaiter began his business-venture at 21 with a jeans store which he bought with the \$57,000 disability cheque he got after a high school hockey accident the lost his left eye. "This month Andy Warhol, who was host at the opening of New

York City's Limelight in 1981, will open Gaiter's Chicago club in what was a 19th-century mansion. And by January, Limelight will go international when Gaiter opens a club in London. Despite his success, the entrepreneur says he now plans to pursue an interest in film production. Paul Gaiter: "I do not want to become the McDonald's of the nightclub circuit."

Former teenage tennis sensation **Tracy Austin**, 22, arrived unexpectedly for the recent Labatt's **Wayne Gretzky** Celebrity Tennis Classic in Bramford, Ont., trading her racket for a microphone and providing color commentary for the charity event. The youngest winner of the women's title at the U.S. Open—at age 16 in 1978—Austin has not played professionally for 18 months because of a stress fracture below her shoulder blade which she suffered during a match in 1983. But she is now

preparing for her return to the pro circuit, probably in six months, by daily weight lifting, bicycle riding and aerobics practice at her Rolling Hills, Calif., home. Austin told *Madonna's* "When I was at the top of my game I was at the top. My goal is to play the best tennis I can and regain that position."

After a 15-year battle with the federal government, **Mary Two-Axe Barley** lost week because the first actress to regain her Indian status under the recently amended Indian Act. Under a provision in the 136-year-old act, Barley lost her status in the Mohawk band in 1936 when she married a non-Indian. But the non-Indian wives of band members enjoy full status. After Barley's husband, **Edward Barley**, died in 1963, she returned to the Kahnawake reserve near Montreal, but, like about 24,000 other native women, she was ineligible to participate in the community and receive medical benefits. In a Toronto

ceremony, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development **David Crombie** presented the 35-year-old grandmother with a certificate confirming her status and described her as a "symbol of the struggle to have discrimination abolished from the act." For her part, Barley said she was relieved that after she dies her body can be buried on her reserve. As for the opposition she faced from some of the Kahnawake council members, who say they fear the consequences of a surge in the reserve's population, Barley smiled and said, "We've agreed to bury the hatchet."

As about **Judith Harrison**, 26, will show little difficulty portraying potential heiress **Janis Boring** in her second season as *CBS's* **Upstairs, Downstairs**, because the former Los Angeles Rams cheerleader and model is a real-life millionaire. The money-conscious Californian native capitalized on her good looks early in life, in listing jobs money from several beauty contests. Then she bought prime real estate and now owns a dozen properties, including a shopping centre in California. Last Christmas Harrison's wealth enabled her to give her mother an \$800,000 house near her own apartment in Long Beach. Harrison says she is "competitive and an achiever," but added that she is not impressed with her fortune. **Sue Harrison**: "I like the freedom money brings—that is, the ability to say no to anybody and anything."

—EDITED BY SHERRI ARENHEAD

Austin: back requests to microphone.



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Stalking a media empire



Southam-owned Vancouver Province newsroom: a shabby takeover threat and hotly contested battles

When Paul Desmarais abruptly sold his 10 per cent interest in Canadian Pacific Ltd. late last month, he effectively abandoned any ambition to take over that company. But the sagacious businessman granted a new round of rumors last week that Desmarais's Montreal-based Power Corp. of Canada was using the \$218-million profit from the CP Ltd. transaction to finance a takeover of the vulnerable national media giant, Toronto-based Southam Inc. Then, late last week the board of directors of the 11-newspaper chain took defensive action to try to prevent a "creeping takeover" by drafting a series of proposed bylaw amendments that would seriously hinder an externally acquisition. "Perhaps we are less attractive today than yesterday," St. Clair Halifax, Southam's aging executive vice-president, told *Modern's*.

Still, the stage was set for another full-scale takeover battle between two giants of Canadian business. Desmarais, a shrewd-smart businessman, has now pledged that he wants to expand the media wing of his empire. And last week

the investment firm of Gordon Capital Corp. was securing the Toronto and Montreal stock exchanges for 1.5 million Southam shares and unconfirmed—and unconfirmed—reports that their client was Desmarais. Meanwhile, directors of Southam Inc. struggled to protect their \$716-million collection of newspapers, book publishing and broadcasting outlets, an empire that was launched when William Southam bought a half interest in the *Montreal Star* for \$6,000 in 1977.

Southam executives said they are not certain who is buying the shares. Indeed, financial analysts were divided about whether Desmarais would want Southam or could afford the price. Others speculated that a bid by Desmarais could draw competing offers, Toronto financier Conrad Black and the real estate developer Albert and Paul Reichman

were rumored to be potential bidders. Still, if an imminent battle broke up the price of Southam shares by more than 10 per cent over the last week. And it put the key players—including the mystery buyer—squarely in the centre of another debate over who owns Canada's news media—and who controls the news.

As the interest in Southam became known, a two-month-long war over the ownership of another communications grant was finally concluded. Early last week Slough Communications Inc. won a takeover battle for control of Standard Broadcasting Corp. Ltd., which owns Toronto radio station 680, the country's largest, as well as Montreal radio stations, an Ottawa television station and cable operations in Ottawa and St. John's. Slough paid \$4.8 per cent of the shares with an offer of \$22 a share.

Power's dilemma



The issue in that battle was *Standard Communications Ltd.* of Toronto, of which Southam owns 77 per cent. Although *Standard* had offered \$24 a share, *Standard* Amco Ltd., one of the key holding companies of Conrad Black, had already pledged its 40.1-per-cent holding of *Standard* stock to Slough—and rejected Slough's overtures.

The battle for *Standard* had just been concluded when attention focused on Desmarais. He once publicly expressed a desire to expand his media holdings beyond four daily papers including *Montreal's La Presse*, eight weeklies, several

premium of 10 to 20 per cent over previous market value—putting the final price at up to \$1 million (Southam shares closed Friday at \$64.75, up from \$57 two weeks earlier). Still, one top Toronto financier close to the stock market action said: "Is Canada prepared for the Southam don't come around too often. But Southam may be worth more than that. It could be profitable if you sold off pieces." Harry Graman, an analyst with First Marquette Securities Ltd. in Montreal, argued that Southam is the only large communications company available to Desmarais, and the

said, "Vulture in the other word." The late-hour attempt by Southam's directors to protect their empire was designed to block a gradual accumulation of shares to form a control block, known as a "creeping takeover." Under the proposed amendments, in order for any interest to obtain more than 10 per cent of the stock it would need the approval of a "block" of shareholders, or at least a "creeping takeover," unless company directors who are not associated with the buyer approved the transaction. The shareholders' approval could also be waived if the buyer agreed to a fair market price for all shareholders and that price would be set by a formula. The Southam directors also agreed to a four-for-one split of its 127 million outstanding shares. That action would push the cost of a takeover even higher. These amendments to Southam's bylaws must be approved at a special shareholders' meeting within four to six weeks. If a bidder does emerge, the vote could be the subject of a bitter proxy fight.

The purchase attempt raised disturbing questions about the ownership of Canada's media. Tim Croxall, a former research director for the Kest Commission on the media and a former *Southam* foreign correspondent and editor, said that there could be a potential conflict of interest if Power Corp. obtained Southam. The acquisition, he said, would combine a French language and an English-language media empire with companies involved in investment, television and transportation.

Tom Kent, the commission's chairman, said that he blames the federal Conservative government for its decision last month to eliminate a Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission restriction on cross-ownership in the media—that is, ownership of a newspaper and a radio station or a television station in the same market.

Power is concerned by the new stock activity. "It would be too bad for our company to fall into the hands of the wrong person," he told *Modern's*. "Now there is no dominant shareholder, as one who can dominate the publishing activities, as other companies that create conflict in the marketplace. Anybody that stands forward will be seen as a black knight."

Desmarais' narrative



With Alan Wainwright and Alan Shortall in Toronto, it was with special interest and Ken Paul in Ottawa.



Conrad Black (left) and brother Wainwright's debate over who should control the news

book publishing houses and a radio station. A self-made success, Desmarais has kept a low profile over the past few years, avoiding publicity and camera photographers. Some analysts speculate that a fear of kidnapping and his continuing interest in Quebec politics have distracted his attention from his business concerns. Others say that his unsuccessful 1975 attempt to wrest control of the Great Atlantic Corp. from Bud McDonald, the central figure in the country's English-speaking business establishment, dented some of his ambition. But since then Desmarais has assembled a top executive team at Power Corp. which includes his son, Paul Desmarais Jr., and vice-president John Rae. And one close observer says the team has chosen Desmarais that involves flows from controlling communications.

But analysts were divided about whether Desmarais would want Southam, and whether it was worth the price and the fight Harold Walkin, for one, an analyst with Merrill Thomas Bond Inc. in Toronto, argued that such speculation driving up the price of Southam shares, a bidder would have to pay a

premium has been well managed. "I am a believer in Southam, its assets and what it can do with them," he said.

Still, the rumors highlighted Southam's vulnerability. The largest chunk of stock—60 per cent—is held by the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec. Of Southam's total assets, only 5.7 per cent of the stock. The rest of the stock is scattered among about 4,000 shareholders, including dozens of members of the Southam club who may or may not be sympathetic to present management. As a result, the company's insiders do not have a substantial block of stock under their direct control to counter a takeover. As well, Southam's chief executive, Gordon Phibbs, is battling cancer of the liver, and he was in a Toronto hospital last week with a bile problem.

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A standoff on car quotas

For months auto company executives on both sides of the Pacific waited anxiously as Japanese and Canadian negotiators discussed the future of their industry. At issue: Japanese automakers' share of the Canadian market and their role in the Canadian economy. Then, last week Industry Minister Sinclair Stevens announced that officials meeting in a Vancouver hotel the previous week had reached an "understanding" which would limit sales of imported Japanese cars and trucks to 18 per cent of total



Sinclair Stevens

Canadian sales in 1985—the same share as last year. But to frustrated auto-makers that agreement to maintain the status quo was an indication that the negotiations had ended in a standoff without resolving the main issues. Said Walter McCall, manager of public relations for Chrysler Canada Ltd. of Windsor, Ont.: "It's a non-solution. We would like to see more permanent action."

Ever since the last quota agreement with Japan ended on March 31, the federal government has been attempting to persuade Japanese automakers to export directly in Canada in return for Ottawa lowering quotas. But so far repeated attempts to convince the Japanese to build Canadian auto plants have failed. Canadian officials noted that the agreement holds out one encouragement to Japanese manufacturers: if any significant investment is discovered over the summer, the quota could be made less restrictive when talks resume in the fall.

That linkage between the two issues concerns Japanese automakers and their representatives in Canada. "The issues of quotas and investment are totally separate," said Ken Komura, president of Nissan Automobile Company (Canada) Ltd. of Toronto. "One is government, the other is up to the private sector." But the government appears to be determined to maintain the connection. Said Charles Stedman, director-general of the automotive, marine and rail branch of the industry department: "The market isn't going to be opened up until the Japanese invest."

How long Ottawa can maintain that posture is unclear. Senior officials acknowledge privately that the government has developed an alternative policy to quotas to deal with a restricted Japanese market in Canada. But the quotas, which have a firm of protectionism, are an embarrassment to Ottawa, particularly because it is attempting to persuade other nations to open their markets to Canadian exports. Washington added to the embarrassment last April when it decided to end quotas on Japanese auto exports to the United States when they expired on March 31. Canada had initially followed Washington's lead by imposing quotas in 1981, when North American automakers were reeling under pressure from foreign competition.

Still, domestic automakers, supported by Canadian auto parts manufacturers and the autoworkers' union, insist that Ottawa should introduce legislation forcing their Japanese competitors to set up plants in Canada. Said Chrysler's McCall: "The Japanese companies should be required to make investments commensurate with their market share." But legislation would likely also have to apply to other nations that export cars to Canada, including Germany, France, Great Britain and South Korea, and it might contravene a number of existing international trade agreements. Said Stedman: "The result would be that those countries would lose the right to negotiate against Canadian exports."

Still, both the domestic and Japanese carmakers seemed to welcome the working arrangement as an interim step. Said Nick Blid, manager of media relations for General Motors of Canada Ltd. of Oshawa, Ont.: "Elimination of uncertainty is in the best interests of all parties." The Canada-Japan pact allows Japanese exporters to plan a 30-per-cent increase in total Canadian auto sales in 1985, permitting them to sell about 150,000 vehicles worth an estimated \$2.1 billion this year. For the manufacturers, last week's announcement was not a peace treaty, but it offered a workable truce. —MARC CLARK, with Denise Dwyer

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Politics in the Office

By Glen Allen

The world of work seemed bright and full of promise when Donald Rosenthal, a grumpy, newly married Concordia University graduate, slipped into a marketing position at the Montreal office of International Business Machines Ltd. (IBM) four years ago. Then, said Rosenthal, he swiftly discovered that being smart in an office "where 30 people were fighting for four

Canadian who fall victim every day to the often-destructive forces of office politics which only a handful of them understand."

Criticism: Office politics—from social struggles by the water cooler to the corporate snafu in the corner office—has been a fact of life, as Rosenthal discovered, ever since people first began working in groups. Peter Frost, an organizational behaviorist at the University of British Columbia, describes the phenomenon as "neither good nor bad, just

as age when they would normally expect promotion—only to find that their well-earned bonus are firmly entrenched or that new management styles are making middle managers redundant."

But during the past five years—partly in response to the demand for a restoration of peace in the nation's offices—there has been an explosion in the number of experts, firms and books offering help. Toronto industrial psychologist Jack McQuinn, for one, describes the training of personnel as "the fastest-



Shapiro (above) counselling workers: investigating office tics, boosting morale and discussing the work ethic

jobs" was not enough. Rosenthal said he was getting ready for a trip to a meeting in Toronto when he arrived and parts of a sales presentation in which he has been involved. "The thing was," he recalled, "I said it in front of my boss's boss." The senior boss dropped him from the IBM team going to Toronto headquarters, and although he stayed with the company for three years he eventually resigned and returned to university for postgraduate studies. Said Rosenthal: "I could see I wasn't going to get anywhere. I knew now I should have made my boss look good." Instead, he became one of the many thousands of

inevitable." But rarely has it been so critical to Canada's white-collar work force to know how to maneuver on the job. In the conservative 1960s, faced with high unemployment, rapidly changing skills requirements and the arrival of more women in positions of power, the demands of the office mass are being to fight more strenuously than ever to protect their positions. Managers at all levels are distressed by shutdowns, mergers and acquisitions which constantly redraw the corporate map. And the nature of office life is further complicated by the pressure from baby boomers who have reached

growing numbers in the world." Indeed, the number of firms specializing in what most of them call "people skills," has mushroomed from only a few in 1980 to hundreds. Harry Kane, publisher of a Toronto-based semiannual guide to seminars for the corporate world, said that the annual revenue generated by such firms has increased to \$150 million from \$28 million in 1979. They range from the formidable such as Management Centre Inc., whose head office on two floors of the Toronto Eaton Centre features original art, silver tea services and mahogany interiors, to Halifax's People Development, which operates



Goodman, from a poppsych oddity to the fastest-growing business in the world

with only three consultants and two support staff. A single-day-long seminar offered by those firms can cost as much as \$250.

Needless: At the same time, the struggle for office survival has spawned prizes on new management styles and on how to succeed in the office which cross sport bookshelves and are fixtures in most corporate boardrooms. The most prominent remains the 1980 best seller, *In Search of Excellence*, by two American management consultants, Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman Jr., which describes most white-collar organizations as "bloodless, paper-driven" entities. Its successor, *A Passion for Excellence*, appears likely to be an equally strong performer. The 1982 *One Minute Manager*, by U.S. psychologist Kenneth Blanchard and physician Spencer Johnson, a 96-page guide to manager-employee relations, is now translated into 17 languages.

Even most university business departments now have on staff an expert in organizational behavior—the study of people in formal groups. And many firms such as the Toronto Dominion Bank and the Crown Life Insurance Co. have renamed their personnel departments "human resources departments" to reflect the new sensitivity to employee morale. The reason for the newfound focus on the problem, said Frost, "is that until the past 10 years power was a taboo subject." And getting power is at the very root of most office conflicts.

For their part, company executives express concern that office power struggles have a direct, negative impact on employee morale and bottom-line profits. Competitiveness that is not channelled properly can be destructive. As a result, employee motivation and well-being are uppermost in the minds of most good managers. Indeed, a Conference Board of Canada survey last summer of 15 of the country's most "successful" chief executive officers revealed that they considered "improving employee quality the major challenge at the moment." Most worrisome to businesses is the increasing evidence of employee disenchantment in a study last February, the European Management Forum, a think tank, found that Canadian workers came last in productivity and 18th in motivation in a list of 28 countries.

Victimhood: The victims of office politics are legion. According to Donald Pothuizen, president of the Institute of Management Consultants, 80 per cent of job failures are rooted in office politics. He added: "Forget the myth that if you work hard and are competent you will succeed automatically. Personal style, good relationships and being well-liked count as much as competency. Office politics is a fact of life. If you refuse to recognize it, you are leaving yourself open to victimhood." Indeed, the re-

gives of internal office struggles can be found in almost any company across the country. And the victims sometimes include the companies themselves. Some case studies:

■ **Barb Cleaver** was only 34 when she got her first job as the assistant to a director of a native rights group in 1974. One night while on a northern tour she was assigned a sleeping place for the night—a sealed mattress in a room full of men. She said that she complained about the conditions to her female superior and "I was never forgiven." Once back in the office in Ottawa, her boss began to criticize her for dressing too well and the next year she was demoted, although there had never been any complaint about her performance.

Cleaver ultimately changed careers, choosing the solitary calling of a real-estate agent in Ottawa, where last year she earned \$35,000. Still, she says she remains bitter about her early brush with office politics. "I was young and pregnant and I didn't want to lose the (last) chance to quit. I loved that job. It wasn't fun."

■ **Dan Moran**, 43, enjoyed his job as the marketing manager of a large credit union in Vancouver two years ago, but that changed when a new general manager took over. Moran, who had been with the concern for five years, could not coexist with the new manager and his formal, tightly structured management style. "Not being a political animal," said Moran, "I found it impossible to mask my true feelings. It became obvious there wasn't going to be co-operation between the two of us and I was let go." Moran, who went on to run a store specializing in children's furniture, added: "When these things happen, a government is not self-defeating. If they fire you by saying you're no good. It was a very dishonest thing to do, but at the same time I felt it would only be self-destructive to dwell on it."

■ **Robert G. Hume**, vice-president of 100 Utilities in London, also hired Toronto's Harvey Silver, one of Canada's leading people-skills specialists, in 1982 to advise 160 employees and to improve "team spirit." Silver's mixture of corporate entrapment and common sense guided the staff to pull together. But Hume found that silver problems were solved as well. An obese employee lost 100 lb, and a member of his workers who were afraid of public speaking formed a "Toastmasters" Club.

■ **M.G. (Al) Roberts** found that he was a happy, down-to-earth, office staff when he joined the Hamilton & Home Supply Ltd., the largest electrical wholesaler in the Maritimes, bought out a competitor and his employees doubled to 140 in 1983. "The new group coming in," said Roberts, "saw apprehensions and anxieties about whether they could measure up, and the old employees felt

threatened by the new. There was great fear of the unknown. You could see it in their eyes." Roberts spent \$15,000 for the services of Halifax's People Development, a consulting firm that has become so successful that it is now working on office problems as far away as Indonesia. He asked them to study the organization and make recommendations on how to improve the workings of the office. He plans to spend another \$30,000 on employee development this year. Still Roberts: "I am confident the results will be positive."



Castle dress codes and career offices.

■ **J.H. (Tony) Aspin**, chairman of Cdn. West Capital Corp., a Winnipeg company that owns 60 per cent of the Global Television Network, said that one major cause of tensions in an office is the executive "who follows his own agenda and consults the company to back him up. He has nothing to do with the business." He said that he knew of one executive who bought a \$440,000 in-house computer system, although he knew it would be cheaper to rent one, because he wanted to enlarge his power. To get support for his purchase, he traded favors with other executives. But the company suffered because it "got stuck with a \$400,000

computer plugged into somebody's legs."

■ **Albert Cohen**, president of Grand Inc., a Winnipeg company that owns department store chains and is a major owner of Sony Canada, said that the company once had a treasurer who "played close to the vest" with information and forced senior executives to go to him often to be briefed. "Fortunately the executive refused and joined the retail services," said Cohen. That was probably where he belonged—in a government bureaucracy.

Thirty years ago American sociologist C. Wright Mills argued that life in the office was a matter of "ignoring goodness and increasing hostility." Modern analysts advocate a more modest and straightforward approach to fellow workers. They add that the nature of office politics varies from company to company, from private sector to public sector and from culture to culture. One company may stress tradition while another prefers innovation. The major cause of stress in the public sector may be "underload"—too little work—while in the private sector it may be "burnout."

There is also a consensus among experts that many of the problems are caused by the boss himself. A 1983 survey by the International Association of Business Consultants showed that 69 per cent of respondents said managers did not know how to communicate. As well, many office workers often do not know their job responsibilities. Robert Kent, president of Navco Development Corp., a Winnipeg-based management consulting firm, using a 1982 survey by the federal auditor general, estimated that \$300 million in salaries had been paid to federal employees removed short their job responsibilities. Declared Kent: "When people don't know what they are supposed to do, they play games in an attempt to nullify their roles."

As well, companies often have rules that encourage personal office infighting. A 1982 Administrative Management Association survey revealed that 50 per cent of Canadian companies still had a dress code, 40 per cent had a grooming code and 39 per cent of companies sent employees home to alter their appearance when it offended company norms.

Still, although most Canadian workers will encounter office politics in their careers—indeed, will likely have to deal with it on a daily basis—many of them will never learn how to use their native strength to identify several common traps in which employees fall. Vancouver's Frost, coeditor of the 1978 book *Organizational Reality: Reports from the Living Line*, a compendium of articles about life in the workplace, said that the biggest single problem is a "failure to read between the lines" or

discover who really holds power in the office. He added that most people fail to make the "right alignments," the result is that they support the loser in a power struggle.

Impressions: There are other dangers as well. One of those, and Deborah Castle, a councillor at Halifax's People Development, is "getting labelled." Castle, whose clients include Shoppers' Drug Mart and the federal fisheries branch in Halifax, said that first impressions of workers tend to become permanent. She cited the case of a young woman who began work in an office with the idea of starting a family apartment in her mind. "Even if she changes and wants to make a career, the label stays," said Castle. Other damaging mistakes include making wrong assumptions about the political sym-

According to Hathaway, employees and managers alike have their own special biases as organizational beings. His own list includes the office group or "storyteller" who creates and spreads rumors; the "pacemaker" able to "paper over the cracks in the walls" and forestall office conflict. He added that the office invariably has at least one employee "who goes around saying this or that. I may have almost done things, and his role is to maintain the status quo." Hathaway says that the office is also likely to have a "giver of rewards," the person who is in charge of dispensing everything from vacations to paper clips, and an economic broker of rules who is tolerated by the management because he is also creative.

Toronto's Silver, whose 18-hour days advising corporations such as the CBC

Montreal middle-level employees, who asked that his name not be used, "because we have all sufficient enough," told an outside management troubleshooter, after being asked what his remarks would be kept in confidence, that his supervisor was incompetent. The superior found out about the remarks and promptly fired his critical subordinate. The worker saw his case before discomfited and received damages, but only after selling his house and taking his daughter out of private school to enable him to pay legal fees.

Confidence: Still, there is a great deal of advice available on how to win the office politics game. Hathaway recommends "aligning" with someone who already has power, although he adds that the person with strength may not always be the expected one. "The real



Deane (left), Rosenbush looking on while the worker handles, and corporate snuffing in the office.

than of a superior and pretending to share them. As well, the added, many employees attach too little importance to dress codes and underestimate the significance of such symbols in the positioning of an office (either a corner or the centre are the most "powerful" locations) or the time and place to have lunch. Others, said Castle, work too differently and earn the distrust of peers.

For his part, Ottawa psychologist Frank Matus said that most people have trouble understanding the office scene—the rules and symbols of power—because they tend to be extremely obscure. Being late for work in the Ottawa journalistic community is the norm, he said, because if the employee arrives on time "it appears as though you didn't work late last night and are therefore not a hard worker."

and the Royal Bank have become legends in the Canadian human resources business (page 38), includes on his list of stereotypes the office "prism donor" who constantly demands attention. Others experts mention the office "talking star," the person who is on the way out, the "comer," the worker who is quickly gaining power, and the "assassin," whose aim is to destroy office rivals.

Most consultants agree that there is one type in particular who inevitably gets into trouble—the "reformer." He is a worker who wants to improve office styles or methods and butts in on being banished with the boss even if it hurts his career and who refuses to make compromises in order to succeed. One relevant case at natural resources employee whose case was heard last winter by the Quebec Labour Relations Board. The

power in the office may lie with the recipient or the person in the mind room," he said. He added that "realism" hopes to be made for separate goals and he can't run the case of an employee whose whole work week is engineered toward taking his child to summer camp on the weekend. "He'll be going up all week to get off early on Friday and making the right conditions to do that. But he's also interested in screwing things for the kid's swimming lessons, so he will make a coalition with the office carpenter."

Hathaway also says that workers have to learn to bargain effectively. That skill, he says, includes the "ability to make threats credible without overcommitting to them" or "surrendering" (that cannot be accomplished) or "underestimating." The good bargainer

A 'Souper' company plan



Roberts with clients coping with stress, fear of the unknown and demoralized employees

should learn to "control the other's level of uncertainty—each player wants to be able to predict the other while limiting the other's ability to predict." And he says that the time-travel device of history also works. "He is someone for advice. Someone drives off him. That's a cop's job," he adds. For a worker whose job takes him out of the office, Hathaway advises, "Make sure you come into the office at least once and be seen from time to time."

Marlene Wilham Wilkerson, executive assistant to Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton, whose former employees include the American telecommunications giant AT&T, the CBC and the Royal Bank, says that he became bitterly aware of office struggles during his career. And he says that employees should simply agree that he added: "The best thing is to have a straightforward professional attitude and not get cynical. Don't get involved in games. For instance I had one simple rule: if somebody and they were telling me something for my own good I told them, 'Don't bother.' It's always had information, usually information. The one way to survive is not to care too much if you survive."

But some office problems seem likely to continue to affect both managers and employees. One is the stress caused by the introduction of high technology. "A new player" in the game of office politics, said one's friend, "Someone who can use it as an expertise and power. It takes power away from people who used to be in demand." Dennis Borenstein, who after his unfortunate experience with IBM went on to become an office consultant, added, "People are just getting my body away from me and giv-

ing it to a machine, and they say, 'So what?'"

The changing nature of male-female relationships has also complicated office life. Said Hathaway: "There is now a larger number of equals in the office. Things such as the 'office affair' are different. It used to be a matter of last. It used to be a quick line behind the firing cabinet involving an 'affair' woman and a 'superior' man." Now, he declared, "with men and women on the same level, people are filling in love. That attracts a great deal of attention in the office, and organizations don't know what to do with this. Sometimes they just fire them both."

Assessing A lot with the traditional management consulting firm, troubled office managers can now get help from outside, but not everyone is the firm of training sessions and seminars. One of the largest and most dynamic of the new firms is MGA Management Centre. The company began in 1977 with a working capital of \$200 and two training courses and now offers seminars on 60 topics attended by about 10,000 people a year in Toronto alone.

The 17-member staff, supported by guest speakers, also offers seminars in Calgary, Ottawa and Montreal. A two-member partnership, MGA will not charge its earnings. It offers courses on computer use and office management, but the most popular courses are "Stress Management," "Advanced Stress Management" and "Assertive Management" for which, said the executive vice-president, Carol Brinkman, "we cannot fill the demand."

Another company that has done well is Achieve Enterprises Ltd. Founded by consultant R.A. McNeil in Edmonton in 1978, the company has expanded to Mississauga, Ont., Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal. It offers "skill development processes for all levels and positions in an organization," and since 1980 has, on average, doubled its earnings each year. The company has sold its "Towards Excellence" program, prepared in cooperation with Thomas of its Search of Excellence fame, to 150 Canadian companies and governments.

Hubris So far, businesses report mostly positive results from hiring in consultants. Marvin Goodman, chairman of Lipson's follow-up, with 370 employees, 28 offices across the country and a Toronto factory, for one, spends at least \$15,000 a year on consultants and he invites consultants to come from the factory floor to attend board meetings and take part in decision-making. "Whether people you are on-site stand," said Goodman. "This hasn't alleviated conflict but it does minimize it—though sometimes we flip back to old habits."

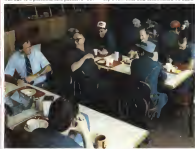
But all the books and consultants in the world cannot blunt the conflicts. Said Vancouver office politician Dan Moss: "It happens in every business, even my own small business with a few employees. It's the way of the world." Added Canadian human resources pioneer Gordon Shaw of Vancouver, "We are one of the first to specialize in office problems and motivation. It's both sad and embarrassing that you have to spend all that money and all that time just to get people to understand how to talk to each other."

With Diane Lechow in Vancouver, Roger Newman in Winnipeg and Sherry Atkinson in Toronto.

Campbell Soup Co. Ltd., the icon of the grocery trade whose familiar red-and-white cans can be found in most Canadian kitchens, tells its shareholders that it is in the "well-being" business. But two years ago, when the 55-year-old Toronto-based company hired the president of its major rival, Thomas J. Lipson Inc.'s David Clark, as its new chief executive officer, it was far from well. Clark was the sixth top manager to be brought in to save the company in 11 years. The firm had suffered declining sales for six of the previous seven years, and office politics were bad, according to Clark. That, he said, was due to a paternal and negative "work-

force a staid company into a dynamic one. Clark increased the salaries of those whom he considered to be good workers, reduced the work week to 40 days for salaried workers and staggered working hours.

In an attempt to involve middle managers in decision-making, he divided the 90 Ontario managers into 35 "task forces" to tackle specific goals. In Campbell's nine plants in five provinces he grouped employees into "quality circles" to address and solve workplace problems. He also named a company coordinator, created seven employee-to-have-9000 breakfasts with him every two weeks and established an internal



Campbell cafeteria: transforming a lower image into a 'profound respect for people'

er year and management which supported a "lower image." With rudibility in the executive suite, Campbell's 3,000 "working" employees, had an "shared vision," and Clark, and the organization was "ripe for change."

Dynamic Clark, a 45-year-old MBA from Hamilton, Ont., who is a self-admitted corporate snail, immediately set about to make changes. His first mission was to reform marketing and management and galvanize the staff at the company's five plants and three farms. To do that, he put human resources consulting firm Achieve Enterprises Ltd., which opened shop in Edmonton in 1978 and has, since 1980, on average, doubled its earnings. Over the year, \$28,000 to transmute Campbell

from a staid company into a dynamic one. Clark increased the salaries of those whom he considered to be good workers, reduced the work week to 40 days for salaried workers and staggered working hours.

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remedial cafeteria in Toronto that, Clark said, "you wouldn't take your day to before." And is an effort to get both managers and employees alike committed to the company, he encouraged employees to go out and meet relatives of Campbell's products (which include soups, sauces as Franco-American, Devonian's TV dinners, Peppercorn Flare desserts, Allen's apple juice, V-8, A-1 Sauce and Gertrude's jam).

The cost of instilling what Clark calls "a profound respect for people" at Campbell was about \$300,000. The results, in financial terms, were dramatic. In 1984, the year after Clark installed what he called his "Serenity" program, productivity went up by eight per cent and net sales jumped by 4.6 per cent to \$260 million. Sales are expected to rise another five per cent in 1985.

Serene Other changes were more subtle. Said Ethel Pokras, treasurer at the 600-employee Campbell Toronto plant and an employee for 40 years: "Until a couple of years ago there was always a line drawn between the plant and office people. There isn't now. It's just a nice atmosphere. Now you're hardly a person who doesn't say 'Hi'." Added Ed Debusinski, a 35-year-old supervisor of a soup production line at Campbell's Portage la Poudre, Man., plant: "It's a new mood, the difference between a cloudy day and a sunny one." Debusinski is a member of one of his plant's "quality circles," one which last month changed a working procedure so that losses were reduced. Campbell vice-president for human resources Peter Forth and said that the nature of office politics has changed too, now that workers know more about what is going on, there are fewer rumors and less dissension.

Clark is now planning to produce a videotape on its strategy for excellence to be shown to its 15,000 retail production employees. "I believe we have shaken the limbs of the organizations," he told Marlene's. "If we haven't shaken the trunk yet, I believe we will." Clark said that a management style "that has much to do with the tenets of religion made sense of my religious faith. It is uncomfortable." But Clark, who in just two years into his five-year "corporate vision," is pressing on. Last week Campbell's middle managers named officers in employees who excelled in their work last year. "Thank for a superb job well done," said Clark. "My feeling is that people will kill for their jobs."

The office personality

The array of best-selling books on management that have enthralled and intrigued readers in the past few years all agree on one thing: each company displays a unique "corporate culture." Declared consultant Jim Champy of Arthur Andersen Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont. "Each organization has its own environment, feeling and soul." And more often than not, consultants agree, the soul is set by people at the top. Unstable and troubled organizations often have unstable and troubled

leaders. It is a "volatile" company in which "policies change overnight and long-term planning means the end of next week." Middle- and lower-level employees are frequently left scrambling to follow the whimsical dictates of their masters. Rouns said such companies tend to attract creative, innovative people, more conservative workers tend to leave quickly. "Their offices tend to be new, colorful, open concepts, with a high noise level. Informality is the rule of the day and longevity is a year on the job."



Miller, maclean's executives, executive managers and 'wily little rules'

led managers. As Toronto consultant Barry Johnson put it, "It's like an old Ukrainian proverb: 'The fish always smells from the head'." Added Toronto psychologist Pamela Rouns: "You can often read the style of the company by the art on the wall, the style of dress, the size of vases." And while there are debates over precise categories, most consultants accept five general styles of organizational culture.

The dramatic organization: According to McGill University organizational behaviorist Darcy Miller, author of a new book on business folklore, "visible at the top, the dramatic organization is characterized by powerful executives who live in a world of "hunches and impressions" rather than facts. The dramatic manager is best as "unbottled growth" and exhibits a compulsion "to be at centre stage showing how great an executive he really is." The result, said

The depressive organization: A firm with that label, said Miller, is characterized by "executive lack of confidence, extreme conservatism and lassitude." Depressive companies "spend most of their time working out routine details while procrastinating on major decisions. Suggestions for change are resisted and serious is inhibited." The corporate style, added Johnson's Champy, could be marked by "moving things from the left side of the desk to the right side." Employees do things "because it is always the way they have done them, rung by rung, according to tradition." Most are older with less energy. Said Rouns: "You don't get a lot of back-packs." The company often built in downtown is older buildings. "Everything is beige or brown, with Canadian art in the foyer," she said, "and everyone has their own closed office." Miller's solutions for the most common Canada-

an practitioners of the style, mining and pulp and paper companies.

The compulsive organization: These companies, often engineering firms, are "wed to ritual," said Miller. "The compulsive organization is unbendingly hierarchical, a reflection of the leader's strong concern for control. Serpentine must be avoided at all costs." Compulsive managers are meticulous, dogmatic and obstinate. Typically, staff have to meet strict dress codes and attend frequent meetings. Champy agreed that this kind of company is driven by technology and technocrats. "People," he said, "take a back seat." And are often prey for "wily little rules and staged little procedures written into company policy 10 years before and never changed." MGA Management Centre executive vice-president Carol Brukenden described one large Toronto corporation that fitted into the category—the firm's chief executive officer has forbidden his employees to wear brown shoes.

The paranoid organization: Striving in the front office of such a firm is a manager who, according to Miller, "believes most contacts will end painfully and is inclined to aggrandize to compensate for lack of confidence." The manager, said Toronto consultant Adamson, is an "outsider" who prefers to stay in hiding. As a result, lower-level managers meet all the worries. Added Miller: "They find it more useful to ignore real-world events that might reflect poorly on their own behavior or conflict with the wishes of the detached leader."

The paranoid organization: Paranoid managers are suspicious and mistrustful of others and have, in Miller's words, "a primary emphasis on organizational self-protection and control." That is, they tightly control their employees. Managers display an overriding concern for "vigilance and preparedness for emergencies," but little spontaneity.

Most professionals agree with Vancouver consultant Gordon Shaw that any attempt to put a given company as strictly a particular type "is drawing a very long bow indeed." Added Miller: "There are mixtures of various styles in any one organization." In fact, Miller said that a diversity of styles is usually essential to corporate health. The prognosis for organizations that take on one distinct personality is "not good," he said. And consultants "coming in with their bag of tools" can do little to help. Said Miller: "It's fine to come in and say, 'I'm okay, you're okay,' but maybe neither of us is okay." —G.A.

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A startling AIDS-related discovery

By Marci McDonald

In a Warrenston, Va., 14-month-old infant named Richard James Oliver died last year of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)—an affliction that most people at the time associated almost exclusively with male homosexuals. In the report, *New England Journal of Medicine*, his doctor said that Jason had contracted the virus from two blood transfusions which he had received after his premature birth. Since then, 88 other AIDS-related fatalities—two of them in Canada—have been attributed to transfusions of contaminated blood on the continent and have produced increasing fears about the safety of blood transfusions. But now a Toronto biochemist has developed a procedure that may ultimately eliminate the major risks of transfusions—not only from AIDS but from other viral infections and accidental mismatching of blood types.

McDonald's has learned that late last month the Canadian Department of National Defence filed a patent on a new purification procedure for hemoglobin and modified hemoglobin solutions which appear to greatly reduce the dangers traditionally associated with these substances when used as blood substitutes. Developed in the department's Toronto laboratory by 46-year-old biochemist Caetano Hsu, the procedure has not yet been fully tested. But if proved effective, it could have a far-reaching impact.

The concern over blood supplies contaminated by the AIDS virus has added new urgency to the long quest for what medical researchers refer to as a blood substitute—an alternative to whole blood—the mixture of red cells, white cells and plasma which has become central to current medical practice. Indeed, says Toronto surgeon, who refused to be identified, admitted that for some operations he no longer routinely "top up" a patient's blood with a transfusion. And Dr. Gerald Gross, director of the blood bank at Vancouver General Hospital, reported calls from colleagues asking whether they should postpone elective surgery until after the Canadian Red Cross introduces a test to sort out antibodies to the AIDS virus in donated blood this September—an month after it was introduced into most American blood banks. But in fact the test is not 100-per-cent effective.

Hsu's purification method of a modified hemoglobin blood substitute ap-



Donor blood: 80 North Americans have died after receiving AIDS-infected blood

pear to eliminate those problems. But until further testing on animals is completed over the next three months, the defense department has declined to disclose it. Hsu's findings, told Mosby Radwinski, chief of the department's Defense and Civil Institute of Environmental Medicine. "It is just too premature. We do not want to fall for Hsu's method can be reproduced and tested to satisfaction, it does have 'ac-

ting potential' for a sizable portion of the nearly four million North Americans who need blood transfusions or blood products each year. Among other things, it would eliminate the complex and costly problem of matching blood types, as well as the often-fatal consequences of transfusing mismatched blood. And it could drastically extend the shelf life of transfusable blood, which blood banks must now discard after 30 days

Hsu (pronounced Hsu) says that if his purification procedure proves to be sound, it would be a relatively simple next step to filter out the viruses that produce such diseases as hepatitis and AIDS. And he theorizes that ultimately the solution could be freeze-dried, like instant coffee—a dream of blood researchers for four decades. But those possibilities remain theoretical. For his part, Dr. Robert Valeri, director of the U.S. Naval Blood Research Laboratory in Boston, who has tested Hsu's hemoglobin solutions, says that it is too early to make any sweeping claims for the solution. But, he added, "The preliminary results are very exciting." De-

news who refused blood transfusions.

But the American Food and Drug Administration recently denied license approval for Floxol, saying that it had not proven its ability to transport oxygen more efficiently than a simple salt solution. And to remain effective Floxol must be kept refrigerated and administered in the presence of 200-per-cent oxygen. And Dr. Robert Bell, former director of the U.S. Army's blood substitute research program. "We cannot put oxygen and a freezer in the field."

A competing school of researchers has concentrated on transmuting only hemoglobin—the oxygen-carrying

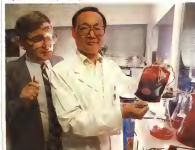
them with a variety of phosphate compounds has improved their efficiency in delivering oxygen needed to repair damaged tissues. But after Valeri had tested a range of those new modified hemoglobin solutions from laboratories across the continent, he found that they all regulated one serious side-effect, they produced dangerous contractions of the heart in the hearts of the subjects upon which he had experimented.

Hsu, a Chinese-born scientist who was initially involved only in contracting others to carry out blood substitute research for the defense department, observed that because the hemoglobin would never be modified completely, the unmodified hemoglobin may have been responsible for producing the contractions. Thinking of the task himself two years ago, he used affinity chromatography, a technique that locks a specific molecule onto the remaining unmodified hemoglobin selectively to remove it from the test solutions.

When Valeri completed his first series of experiments with Hsu's samples in April, he found that it drastically reduced vessel constriction. But the defense department and Valeri both said that such results must be repeated before tests are tried on whole animals and eventually humans. But Geyer. "The question now is whether this can be reproduced in suitable quantities for testing. That has been the main problem so far. As soon as people try to produce large batches of these kinds of solutions, for some reason it doesn't work."

Hsu says that because viral particles are larger than hemoglobin molecules, they could easily be filtered out to eliminate contamination from hepatitis and AIDS. But that, too, remains hypothetical. The chief advantage of an effective hemoglobin solution would be to eliminate the danger of mismatching blood types, which currently causes one in every 16,000 transfusions. Hsu's solution is a long-term stock of such a solution on hand at airports in case of plane crashes, as well as at other potential disaster sites. And because hemoglobin solutions are currently made from oxidized red cells discarded by blood banks, they would effectively extend the life of donated blood. They would not, however, help hemophiliacs, who need for the clotting agent known as Factor VIII—made up from platelets collected out of massive pools of donated blood—has made them one of the groups most susceptible to AIDS. Hsu estimates that the purchase of a viable blood substitute would in any way eliminate the need for the current blood donor system. Said Hsu, "We will never be able to replace the good collection of our own red blood cells."

With Ann Pavlikova



Hsu, right, with colleague M.D. Radwinski: an ultimate goal of freeze-dried blood

drard Robert Geyer, chairman of the department of nutrition at Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Health in Boston. "A blood substitute could be used in an emergency where you would not have the facilities to worry about blood-typing—in a military setting or a mass disaster. If it works, it would represent a real breakthrough."

Defense departments have led the way in blood-related research, which began in earnest after the Second World War. For the military, the costly and cumbersome problem of transporting refrigerated blood to the battlefield is a logistical nightmare. But research withly light into two competing camps. One focused on substituting lost blood with fluorocarbon—synthetic chemicals related to the cooling agent used in refrigerators. One of these chemicals, manufactured by the Japanese Green Cross Corp. as Floxol, has been tested on humans in Japan and on a handful of American Jehovah's Wit-

nesses isolated from red blood cells. Indeed, in discovering a method of freeing hemoglobin from the red-cell membrane, biochemists also found that they had discovered the problems of blood-typing because the antigens that cause blood incompatibility are coded on the walls of the red-cell membrane, called stroma. But other problems made that breakthrough irrelevant: the breakdown of cell membranes and the debris that remained in those hemoglobin solutions clogged up the kidneys, causing renal damage and sometimes outright kidney failure. In addition, the solutions swept through circulatory systems into the urine too rapidly and largely failed to perform their primary task—delivering oxygen to body cells.

In the past two decades scientists have prolonged the solution's stay in the bloodstream by stabilizing them with polymerization, which strings the hemoglobin molecules together in large clusters. And chemically modifying

The quest for the Titanic

By Ross Laver

For more than 70 years scientists and adventurers have tried to find the *Titanic*, the supposedly unsinkable passenger liner that struck an iceberg and went down off the coast

of Newfoundland. The quest has been aided by satellite technology, sonar, and high-powered strobe lights to provide a wide-angle view of the seabed, rather than the narrow, short-range



The *Titanic*: a summer expedition will spend \$6 million to pinpoint the wreck

of Newfoundland on April 15, 1912, killing 1,522 people. Although there have been several expeditions to search for the wreckage, none has found any trace of the ship's massive steel hull on the ocean floor 13,000 feet below the surface. But this summer, Maclean's has learned a team of French and American scientists will spend as much as \$6 million in another effort to pinpoint the wreck, using some of the most advanced equipment ever devised to study the ocean floor. And according to the expedition's leader, Dr. Robert Ballard of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution near Boston, the team has a "70- to 80-per-cent chance" of locating its quarry.

The purpose of the expedition is not solely to locate the *Titanic*'s wreckage. Its primary aim is to test the effectiveness of several recently developed systems and techniques of deep-sea exploration. Starting that month French scientists will begin the search by sweeping a 100-square-mile area of seabed, 600 km southeast of Newfoundland, with an advanced broad-swath sonar to obtain sound-wave images of the terrain. Then, in August, a team of American deep-sea experts plans to investigate any promising evidence with a com-

plex, portable, low-sophisticated system. And Joseph Maclean, a Toronto-based marine consultant who is advising the team on the making of a documentary film of the expedition, "The main objective is to expand our understanding of the ocean by focusing

Ballard, all in the name of science



on one target. The fact that it appears to be the *Titanic* adds an element of fun and adventure to the scientific technology, similar to that which helped locate the tanker wreckage of Air-India Flight 182 off the coast of Ireland, the explorers will face genuine difficulties. The area of the seabed on which the 66,200-ton *Titanic* is believed to rest is studded with oxygen and ridges. At the same time, underwater avalanches on the steep slopes occasionally stir up huge amounts of rock and sediment. And Maclean: "Most people assume that the ship is just lying there intact on the ocean floor. It almost certainly is not. Most of the pieces are probably buried under tons of debris and sediment."

Indeed, the challenge is so great that even a \$5-million search for the *Titanic* between 1960 and 1963 failed to locate the wreck. Planned by Jack Grimes, a Texas oil millionaire who had previously put up money to search for Noah's Ark in Turkey and the Loch Ness monster in Scotland, the expedition began with Grimes confidently telling reporters that he was "99 per cent sure" the ship would be found. But he failed. And William Ryan, an oceanographer at New York's Columbia University and the chief scientist on the expedition, "It is analogous to losing an earring on a thick pile carpet. You have to get down on your hands and rub everywhere as the carpet." He added that because the ocean floor south of the Greek Banks off Newfoundland forms a long slope, "the *Titanic* could have slid far away."

An 880-foot-long symbol of Edwardian opulence, the British-owned passenger liner was the largest and most luxuriously appointed vessel of its time, and its sink reportedly costained a fortune in jewels. But the members of this year's expedition do not expect to reap profits from their efforts. Even if the vessel is located, Maclean said, it would not be feasible to raise it to the surface. He added that the ship's exterior is probably a tangle of wreckage, making it next to impossible to explore the ship underwater.

Still, if the *Titanic* is found, it is likely that the wreckage will remain undisturbed for long. According to Maclean, Ballard and some team members have already considered the possibility of returning to the area in 1995 to take a closer look at whatever the expedition finds. That would enable researchers to examine the area in more detail, using a three-man research submersible, *Alvin*, operated by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Clearly, the epic tragedy of the *Titanic*'s sinking still commands as much fascination now as it has for the past 73 years.

With William Leather in Washington

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Oldo coal-fired generating stations: still a prime source of acid rain in Canada

ENVIRONMENT

Attacking the tall stacks

By Ian Austin

They are the most visible symbols of acid rain. Indeed, the tall smokestacks of the U.S. industrial heartland, some of which soar to almost 1,300 feet, are well-known as a main source of the airborne pollutants that land on the forests and lakes of Central and Eastern Canada as acidic rain and snow. As a result, when a U.S. federal court ordered the Environmental Protection Agency to draft new tall-stack regulations to curb sulfate emissions, the environmental groups that had led a 13-year battle against the giant chimneys anticipated a major victory. But the agency's complex new rules disregarded acid rain activists' fears. Robbed Ayres, chairman of the Washington-based National Clean Air coalition. "The policy is a loss, and the claimed reductions are bogus."

The tall-stack controversy began in 1972, when the EPA decided to allow some companies to use tall stacks to disperse emissions instead of cleaning them up. Tall stacks like the 1,300-foot one at Union Carbide's facility, Ont., smelter significantly dilute wastes by taking them high into the atmosphere. But they do not eliminate pollutants. U.S.

environmental groups contend that the 1990 Clean Air Act bans dilution schemes and requires cleaner instead. As well, the tall-stack dispersal creates ideal conditions for sulphur dioxide—a byproduct of coal burning and metal smelting—in combination with water vapor in the air. The acidic solution travels hundreds of miles before falling on the nearby Canadian regions that are experiencing significant fish kills, and it may cause stunted forest growth.

Numerous critics have attacked the EPA policy. U.S. federal courts have declared parts of it illegal, and Congress voted against allowing dilution in 1974 and again in 1987. But the agency resisted making changes until a 1985 court ruling, which the Reagan administration unsuccessfully attempted to have referred to the Supreme Court, forced it to. In general, the agency has changed the policy by delaying the original 1972 provisions much more slowly. In theory, the new rules will be less free-

to put stacks that existed before 1971 to new uses, and there is a more precise description of "good engineering practices," a vague term that the 1972 regulations gave as a reason to allow tall stacks.

At first, agency spokesmen said that the new rules could reduce potential sulphur dioxide emissions by 1.1 million tons per year by 1995, although Charles Efron, acting assistant administrator for air and radiation, said that they were "not designed to be an acid rain program." Said EPA spokesman Christian Hill: "Our estimate was very rough. Admittedly, after the environmental groups nailed our hand on it, we kind of backed off that number and admitted it was on the high side."

Indeed, the EPA's latest ruling characterizes several Reagan administration opposition to significant acid rain action. Recent pledges by the Canadian government to cut sulphur dioxide emissions by half—a target recently intended to exceed similar U.S. action—have gone unheeded south of the border. Despite the initiatives of New England congressmen, whose states have experienced most of the U.S. acid rain damage, more powerful legislators from industrial and coal-producing states have consistently opposed reform. The Reagan administration also opposes an expensive clean-up, although the President did appoint former transportation secretary Drew Lewis to study the situation along with former Ontario premier William Davis, who was appointed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

For the impasse to be broken many observers think research will have to make a clear case that acid rain is harming the U.S. forest industry or public health. The first significant results of the laboratory studies require one to two years away, but other evidence of acid rain's harmful effects continues to accumulate. Within days of the EPA tall-stacks announcement, the Washington-based National Clean Air Fund

provided copies of restricted U.S. government acid rain maps which show that, since 1982, "acid dead" lakes are now found everywhere in the northeastern United States. Deborah Shuman, a Natural Resources Defense Council Inc. specialist who analyzed the maps, declared, "The new information we have presented ought to cause the administration to reassess its position." But the Reagan administration does not appear to be preparing any swift response. ☐

Ayres: disappointed



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A victory over addiction

As their 21 fellow graduates watched, the two volunteers walked to the podium on the grounds of the Canadian Armed Forces' eastern regional headquarters in Montreal. But when Pedro Alves and Sylvie Bouchamp, both 22, addressed the 280-member assembly presided over by Gen. Guy Jessup Sr. recently this month, the theme of a simple school graduation ceremony resonated. With intense emotion, the two former drug addicts described how they had overcome their heroin addiction through Montreal's world-renowned Portage Programme for Drug Dependence in speeches that moved the Governor General to tears. Declared *héros*. "A sense of victory—the dignity and pride which is evident in this gathering—speaks more eloquently than any words of what has been accomplished here."

The annual graduation ceremony, intended to honor ex-addicts who have not used drugs for two years, underscores the Montreal organization's achievements. Although Portage's harsh discipline and unconventional behavior mod-



Portage residents: military discipline

ification methods have drawn criticism from some social workers, its remarkable success rate has made it a lifeline for people dependent on any kind of drug. Portage says that fully 90 per cent of addicts who complete the program stay free of drugs, success that its consultants attribute to the organization's extreme methods: addicts spend between 10 and 15 months in non-volations at the Portage Centre in Lac Roba, Que., 65 km northwest of Montreal, where they are subjected to a rigidly disciplined rehabilitation program. Rud Jelsa Welch, assistant to the executive director and a Portage counsellor, "is as known as the natives of rehabilitation."

Established in 1979 by a group of concerned parents, Portage provides free drug rehabilitation services to Canadian citizens through funds received primarily from the federal and Quebec governments. But the program's reputation drew clients from as far away as Italy and Central America who pay \$20,000 for the rigorous treatment at the Lac Roba centre. As many as 100 addicts at a time, ranging in age from 25 to 65, submit to the program. Once admitted to the centre, they enter a world with limited access to TV and radio and few personal contacts with the outside world during the first four months of treatment. Said Welch: "Our concept is based on work

ethics. We push the idea that a normal person has a job and sleeps here."

Within the centre's rigid hierarchy, all privileges—except a cup of coffee—must be earned. As residents move up through the *Mémoires*, they assume more responsibility for newer arrivals. They also submit to "intensive exposure"—unconventional methods designed to publicly prove an individual's overcoming negative characteristics. One woman wore a sign that said "Confront me on why I persist in being so negative." Another had to dress in diapers and baby clothes to draw attention to her childish behavior. And, eventually, the most shy and passive group members are forced to confront their weakness by being placed in positions of authority, jelling out orders to dress clothes and sweep and scrub hallways.

Some drug-abuse treatment specialists question such extreme methods. Said Jack Tremblay, spokesman for the provincially funded Alternatives rehabilitation program in Montreal: "Portage treats people who take drugs as having a sickness. A person is unable to make a decision for himself, so the decisions are made for him." Portage counsellors, most of them former drug addicts, admit that 50 per cent of the people who enter the centre do not complete the program. But they say that the success rate among those who stay justifies the tactics and they stress that continued drug dependency is a far worse alternative for addicts. Declared counsellor Leon Hudson: "We all know where they will be if they don't make it. They will be prison or on the run—or they will be dead."

Portage, which also maintains addiction counselling centres in Montreal and Quebec City, is now planning to expand westward. Last week executive director Peter Vassal announced the April opening of a rehabilitation centre in Saline, Ont., 75 km west of Toronto. Smaller and more specifically oriented than the Lac Roba centre, it will offer 30 places for 16- to 27-year-olds referred there under the Young Offenders Act. Vassal said that because of the residents' age the Ontario centre will place a higher emphasis on education, but otherwise it will operate on the same principles of regimentation and discipline as the Lac Roba site. Still, for many addicts the desperation of their lives on the streets makes the hardships of the Portage experience worthwhile. Said one former resident who has been off drugs for 18 months: "I have been a heroin addict for 18 years. I've got a five-year-old son whom I'd never going to know as his father. I want a chance to go home at night and not wonder whether someone will kick my door down."

—DAN FERREIRA

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In search of the answers

The politics of a motherhood issue

By Jane O'Hara

Fame has been a mixed blessing for July Gibson, the feminist leader of American art in Vancouver to open a showing of her latest work. The *Birth Project*, Chicago was still feeling the aftereffects of her 1979 *The Dreamer Party*, an aggressively political work which provocatively presented the lives of women who, she claimed, had been "eaten by history." A collaboration with more than 400 women, *The Dreamer Party* was an elaborate triangular table at which 39 famous women appeared symbolically seated up on terraced plates, the power of their sexuality displayed through flowery petal-like. Some major art institutions boycotted *The Dreamer Party*, but women's groups took it to 18 North American cities and more than 500,000 people viewed it. Its controversial reception made Chicago a household name (she was born July Cohen) in art and feminist circles. But it also left the artist \$28,000 in debt and with the feeling that she was—and still is—in debt to the past. Said Chicago "I was the leper. Nobody would touch me with a 10-foot pole."

But the collaborative process got into Chicago's blood and partly inspired her latest work, *The Birth Project*, which is receiving its only Canadian showing in 1988 at The Vancouver Museum (until Sept. 10). Begun in 1980 and completed this year, *The Birth Project* is a massive undertaking that cost more than \$300,000. It includes 85 birth scenes done in needlework, quilting, embroidery, Betwosheet, appliqué and smocking. Chicago, 45 who is divorced and has never given birth herself, designed it all at her studio in Remsen, Calif. This, in an organization of 100 defendants, she supervised 150 volunteer needleworkers from the United States, Canada and New Zealand.

At the Vancouver opening, Chicago led the media on a fast-paced tour, bounding from piece to piece with the energy and no-nonsense assertiveness that have become her trademarks. Dressed in a silver lace corset, tight black pants and black art slacks and wearing an earring in her tightly curled hair, the Californian artist looked like a Haight Ashbury graduate — her articulate patter not so much that of a free artistic spirit as a 1980s-style management consultant, brought in to increase corporate productivity. As the crowds pushed into a small room, to hear Chicago sing the praises of Van-

cover needleworker Ann Gibson, who produced *First Art: The Mother Rhinoceros*, Chicago asked, "How do you like this show?" One woman replied, "Great!" Chicago shot back, "Great. So don't lean on the art."

Gibson, the only Canadian to work on *The Birth Project*, said that collaborating with the hyperactive, perfectionist Chicago was both rewarding and intimidating. Gibson spent seven months at Chicago's Remsen studio, an artist's retreat that drew acolytes from all over the United States. She had to ride her

face with a circular logic that looks at the eternal rhythms of life and death. Chicago has drawn in everything from Babylonian creation myths to Hopi Indian culture—and the shape of the universe itself—in her struggle to find new forms to describe the birth experience. By choosing needlework as her medium, Chicago is also making another highly political statement, by raising a traditionally undervalued and female craft to the level of art. Her vision strongly affirms a vital aspect of the female experience which until now



Chicago using needlework and quilts to make the birth experience universal

needlework several times, a process Chicago emphatically called "reverse stitching." Said Gibson "I objected to her telling me you're a list. But everything considered, it was a great working experience."

One of Chicago's goals for *The Birth Project* is to allow as many people as possible to see it at the same time. For that reason, it has been divided up into numerous sections which will eventually appear in 13 different cities. In Vancouver, 16 quilts are on display. Some are graphic images of women contorted in labor pain, trapped by biology. Others show women transformed spiritually by their life-giving function. Highlighted by Chicago's strong sense of style and aesthetics to detail, the images blend and

has been either mythified, mythologized or ignored in the lexicon of art. Said Chicago "When I started there were no images to draw on. I was looking for ways to make the experience universal. Does the word look like the Milky Way? Do the ovaries look like the superman?"

Like *The Dreamer Party*, Chicago's latest work will inspire strong likes and dislikes among viewers who will see it as either groundbreaking or a feminist gimmick. For the artist herself, *The Birth Project* is yet another step on what has often been a lonely artistic road. In the end, Chicago's analytical treatment of an emotionally charged subject should require her viewers to think, rather than feel, about birth.

CITIES

The fight over public art

Italian artist Francesco Perilli says that his fearless one-foot bronze male figure statue Toronto's Union Station is a "monument to multiculturalism." But the work, a 1984 birthday gift to the city from the local chapter of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, has provoked a heated debate over the selection, purpose and quality of public art in Toronto. Highlighting the dilemma is the fact that the controversial public art consisted of statues of public figures or monuments that celebrated race, patriarchy and indigenous themes. With the advent of modernism in art and architecture, however, sculptures that often baffled the public began to replace the traditional forms—and to generate controversy in cities across the country.

The battles over public art usually have been fought ruthlessly. In 1978 Montreal civic officials fought a lawsuit which their artists launched against the city after it had awarded Camducat, an exhibition on Sherbrooke Street sponsored by the Olympic Organizing Committee—because some jurors had offended passers-by. Two years later the federal government removed an abstract steel sculpture depicting wheat from in front of the Canadian Grain Commission building in Winnipeg after citizens complained about its style. And in 1980 some Ottawa citizens threw a painted metal abstract sculpture into the river from a parkway in east Ottawa.

To avoid such confrontations and to ensure that esthetic standards are met, many cities in Europe and the United States have established strict policies on public art. Philadelphia has empowered a committee to approve all art in public view, and New York appointed an art commission in 1985 which must approve all art on public land. Many Canadian cities are following suit. In Toronto an advisory committee, whose members—mostly from the local arts community—are appointed by city hall, advises city council on what Toronto-urban designer Mary Jane Rafter calls the "enduring artistic value" of any work offered or commissioned by the city.

In September, 1984, the committee recommended that council not accept the Italian-Canadian congress' donation on esthetic grounds, citing unimpressive execution. Still, after political pressure from representatives of Toronto's 500,000-member Italian community, council rejected the committee's advice and, following a raucous debate, voted



Toronto's Perilli sculpture, 'Backstage'

to install the sculpture at Union Station for a one-year trial ending on Oct. 31, 1986. There, the city will assume public viewers before it decides whether to accept the work. For now, there is a split. Critics of the Union Station sculpture agree with a Sept. 11, 1984, *Globe and Mail* editorial that called it "backstage" and "unimpressive." But the sculpture's defenders claim that it is a worthy addition to the urban scene. Declared congress member Luciano Leone, chairman of the monument committee: "We are confident the common people will like it. It is a classic—they will understand."

Whatever the outcome, the debate over public art will likely intensify as projects multiply. Vancouver is seeking corporate sponsors for 30 civic beautification projects—including several public sculptures—to help celebrate its centennial in 1988. And by the end of August Toronto residents will be able to view *Return of the Streets Mages*, a fountain sculpture beside the city's St. Lawrence Hall, chosen during a public sculpture competition last spring. Although experts acknowledge that it is impossible to please everyone, they also envision the public to avoid snap judgments about a sculpture in a cityscape. Declared Toronto art dealer Avon Jones: "Good art takes its own time to be appreciated." —ALISE PHAMPOUR

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Monitoring probationers

When Donald Holmes returns from work at 10 p.m. to his West Palm Beach, Fla., home, he sees off a special series of events: a radio transmitter strapped to his leg signals a device on his telephone, which rings a computer at the local probation office to announce his arrival. The me-

chine also signals the office when he leaves home for his job as a sales manager of a car lot at 7:30 a.m. or if he fails to stay at home on Sunday. But for Holmes, 38, the restriction is a welcome one. Married, with a three-year-old daughter, he was recently sentenced to 30 days in jail for drunk driving, his

second jail term for the same offense. And when the court offered him the option of spending four months on the new electronic house-arrest system, he swiftly accepted. Stud Holmes "As an alternative to going to jail that is ideal."

Holmes is one of 70 minor offenders in West Palm Beach who have volunteered for the experimental program over the past eight months, a program that local officials adopted recently to reduce jail crowding. The system was developed by a company named Pride Inc., which Palm Beach County authorized in 1976 to administer probation for drunk drivers and traffic offenders. Each unit costs \$1,350 (U.S.) and consists of two units: a small, two-source transmitter about the size of two flashlight batteries and the dialing device that receives its signals and passes them on to Pride's central office.

Since the probation program began, the county sheriff's office has installed its own system to monitor inmates who are released from jail on short leaves. Company program director Glen Rothbart says that several other U.S. jurisdictions are interested in adopting the technology. And in Canada, More Industries Inc. of Mississauga, Ont., is developing a similar system to monitor the movements of patients in mental hospitals and nursing homes to ensure their safety. President Ralph Devoy says that his system uses a credit-card-sized tag which patients wear to emit a radio signal. Monitoring devices, placed on hospital doorways, pick up the signal and relay the patient's name to a computer at the monitoring station. The company tested the system last winter on administrative staff at Toronto's Evered Hospital and it plans additional experiments at the St. Thomas, Ont., Psychiatric Hospital in August or September, according to Devoy.

Still, many human rights advocates are expressing judgments on the system's ultimate merit. Dr. Tyrone Turner, for one, Ontario co-ordinator for the Pro-Chief Patients Advocates Office, a patients' rights group, said that hospitals might eventually decide to monitor patients all the time, which would violate their privacy. Added Turner "Some probabilities already have implications of being electronically monitored." And David Cole, a Toronto lawyer and prison reform advocate, said that any criminal control program should remain strictly retaliatory. Said Cole "The whole thing smells of Big Brother." But the current preliminary experiments with the technology have not led to any reported cases of abuse. Declared Holmes "I strongly recommend this system. It saves the taxpayer money—and it affords an alternative to going to jail."

—ROBERT BLOCK



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FOR THE RECORD

Odd views of daily life

LITTLE CREATURES
Talking Heads
(RCA)

The music of Talking Heads has always been the fringe of pop. One reason, the members of the group have created songs on such unlikely topics as buildings, civil servants and mental health set to music ranging from American new wave to African tribal rhythms. Their new album, *Little Creatures*, continues to examine everyday thoughts and things—drawn television to babies and domestic bliss—and, because the group has now dropped African rhythms in favor of simple pop tunes, the album's music is easier to understand. On *Crestless of Love*, an amiable country-and-western tune about human reproduction, David Byrne sings with childlike amusement about how "little creatures come out" after a man and a woman lie together. Television Man portrays a TV fanatic who is unfathomably proud of his fetish. The magazine is the album's straightforward musical approach in *Road to Nowhere*, a bizarre blend of gospel vocals, Cajon-style accordion and a military drum in the simplest song on the album, the group offers new ways of looking at things that people think they understand. But at other times Talking Heads still like to keep everyone guessing.

TEMPERED BURLESQUE
Bob Dylan
(CBS)

Since his conversion to born-again Christianity in the late 1970s, Bob Dylan has found new ways to express his fundamentalist message. On the recent-tent *Temperament Burlesque*, he attempts to bury his verses in legends of imagery and allegory and ruminates rock 'n' roll. Dylan sounds convincing on the gospel-inflected *Flight Connection to My Heart* and the impudent *Cross Cut Kiss*, which explains the aftermath of Vietnam. But as most of the album Dylan sounds more like an old crank than a rebel. Starting the *First Ten of Lent* is a repetitive song about his bitterness, while the graceful sonnet on *When the Night Comes Falling from the Sky* are scolded by his relentless agonizing. Although his anger can still cause creative sparks to fly, *Temperament Burlesque* itself never fully ignites.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS

BOOKS

Doing battle with his own legend

THE DANGEROUS SUMMER
By Ernest Hemingway
(Collier-Macmillan, 256 pages, \$11.95)

In a 1939 *Life* magazine went the Nobel Prize-winning novelist Ernest Hemingway to Spain to cover the bull-fighting season. The project seemed fool-made, the most celebrated of all the "lost generation" of American expatriates who had lived in Europe between the wars. Hemingway had made Spain his own, seeing in its soil a proud, primitive and incorruptible honesty. In its national ritual, the bullfight, he found a morality play in which the matador, as Everyman, faced death. Spaniards regarded him a 1932 book, *Death in the Afternoon*, as a masterful account of the matador's art. For them, Hemingway was a true hero.

But there was an unfortunate crack in *Life's* proposal. The man who wrote *Death in the Afternoon* was young and confident that his best work lay ahead of him. The man who went to Spain in 1939 was nearly 60 and battered by a chain of accidents and illnesses. Worst of all, he was afraid. He had not published a novel since 1926, when reviewers had managed *Across the River and into the Trees*, a mounting chorus of critics had charged that his work amounted to a set of Boy's Own adventure stories. Like an aging matador old forced to watch triumph of a younger self, Hemingway, returning to Spain, had to do battle with his own legend.

Life's editors had asked him for 30,000 words. He gave them 120,000. Heavily cut, *The Dangerous Summer* appeared as a three-part series in the magazine. In the new book-length version, constructed by Hemingway's publisher, Scribner's, the text has been restored to about half its original size and clarifies the reason for Hemingway's outpouring. As he wrote, "Bullfighting is nothing without rivalry," and in 1939 two matadors, brothers-in-law—one at the top of his profession, the other a shamelessly gifted challenger—fought to arrange all over the country. Following Luis Miguel Domínguez and his young rival, Antonio Oddón, Hemingway became convinced that the punishing spectacle would end with only one as the other terribly injured or killed.

The Spanish trip represented the chance for the shabby Hemingway to return to first principles. As always, he saw in the bullfight a mirror image of the artist's struggle to create. "Any man can face death," he wrote, "but to be

committed to bring it as close as possible while performing certain classic movements and to do this again and again... is facing your own performance as a creative artist each day." He was fascinated by the torero's duty to carve beauty out of brute danger, only to annihilate with a cape and a wooden sword.

In his introduction to *The Dangerous Summer*, novelist James Michener dis-

missed that Hemingway was a tragic other self.

However deep his doubts about his own power, in 1939 Hemingway was still in command of his vocal, muscular yet supple prose style. If his overt attempts to draw analogies between matador and writer are clumsy, his descriptions of the fights themselves are unclouded. Most moving of all are his evocations of a loved and suffering land-



October in Sevilla, 1939, Hemingway (below): beauty out of brute danger

man Hemingway's claim that the battle ended with the evoking defeat of Domínguez. Young Oddón, a matador and inspired, is unquestionably Hemingway's favorite. Whatever the truth, Hemingway's treatment of the older man is revealing. For all his skill and courage, Domínguez is powerless in the

hands of "Castles and small" white villas unsheltered from the wind—ruined in the storm-flooded fields of grass.

The Dangerous Summer was Hemingway's last full-length work. The editors of *Life* let it be known that they were unhappy with the pace. Hemingway himself rose to reject the whole project as a failure and showed no interest in publishing the full text. Two summers after that Spanish journey, beset at last by his demons, Hemingway shot himself. That knowledge lends an added poignancy to the novelist's last explosions of death Spain offered him the final glimpse of a painful dream where "beauty was defeated."

—ROBERT BENTON



The culture controversy

During the 10 months since the Conservative government came to power, Communications Minister Marcel Masse has earned a reputation as the coldest performer on the Brian Mulroney team. For that reason, the minister's lack of composure was startling last week when he emerged from an inner cabinet meeting at the government's Beech Lake retreat. The day before, Masse's department had come under heavy fire from Canada Council director Timothy Porteous, who said that he had been dismissed from his job and that the Conservatives were out to gobble cultural funding. Fissured to comment, Masse, sweating and visibly twitching, managed only to confuse the matter with a single curt remark: "He has not been fired."

For his part, Porteous was certain that his head had become the second to rell from a cultural agency in recent months. In April, André Lamy, the Liberal-appointed head of Téléfilm Canada, the government's film financing agency, was fired. Porteous, a former aide to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau who was appointed council director in 1983 by the Liberal government, said that he had been "terminated" on June 28 during a telephone conversation with de Montigny Marchand, Masse's deputy minister. Four days later, with no official announcement, Porteous called a press conference to denounce the government for political interference. While Masse subsequently denied that a dismissal had taken place, Marchand did admit that he had called Porteous about the possibility of working in Los Angeles for the Canadian consulate. He stated that he had told Porteous that "the government might want to effect changes at the helm of the Canada Council." Porteous interpreted this as a resignation signal that he was fired as director.

At his press conference Porteous said that his job status only served to "muddy" the issue of cultural agency autonomy. In recent months Masse's own office has become more involved in direct intervention of cultural decisions. Porteous told Mulroney's staff that "irreparable damage" to Canadian culture. The cultural community quickly rallied to his defense. For the Mulroney government, having recently bowed to protesters, the memory of the power of special interest groups remains painfully fresh.

—ROSE MACGILLICRAIG



Thompson, Fox, time travel in which a son meets his flirtatious teenage mother

FILMS

A trip into a time warp

BACK TO THE FUTURE
Directed by Robert Zemeckis

Marty McFly (Michael J. Fox) finds himself in a terrible predicament in *Back to the Future*. An accident has taken him to 1955 in a time-traveling car created by a mad inventor friend. Marty encounters his teenage mother (Liza Thompson), who develops a severe crush on him. But in order to be born, Marty must make sure that she and his gawky 80th birthday father (Crispin Glover) experience their first kiss. Robert Zemeckis's oddball comedy is smart, fast and witty, and the script by Zemeckis and Bob Gale is fantastically original.

The 1985 scenes snap seem at first somewhat bland, but when Marty begins his passage through the past, every grain of information about the present has an ironic twist. Marty, no longer an overwrought, mopey-willing pre-teen, is a steaming young man with a voracious appetite for his father, reformed and downbeat. In 1955, is a sensitive young man who secretly writes science-fiction stories. Zemeckis turns the universal fantasy of discovering what one's parents were like before sex was born into an effervescent and at times touching reverie.

The past in *Back to the Future* is truly a foreign country. Marty's return to 1985 is a voyage of discovery, lightened by faranght when Marty wins his courtship uncle, Jay, as his playboy, he says,

"Later get used to those hair, 'til People in his parents' home of Hill Valley, seeing Marty's down cut, think it is a life preserver of some kind. Thirdly, Marty asks for a Tab as a soda crutch—but the proprietor tells him he has not yet ordered. Marty then asks for a Pepsi Free—and is told he will have to pay. His mother, upon the meanness as he ditches, thinks his name is Calvin Klein. Marty also discovers some things about himself, foremost that he is very much his father's son, fearful of rejection (Marty is a shy aspiring singer-guitarist) and confirmation (he shrinks from the name belly his father does!)." All the actors turn in highly sophisticated performances. As the mad inventor, Doc, wild-eyed Christopher Lloyd is an offbeat master. Crispin Glover's sexually failing limbs keep the father's humiliation from descending into bathos, and Liza Thompson's transformation has a *Grease*-like quality to it. Fox's perceptions of the Brave Old World he has entered seem truly open-minded, as if he had never before encountered such a strange environment.

To get Marty back to the future, Zemeckis worked out an elaborate scheme involving the time-traveling car, the town hall clock and lightning during a storm. The trip in is as exquisite as an eclipse. And Marty's tangleling with time produces a few wry, leading to an ending that is completely surprising—and every bit as rock as the rest of this delightful movie. —LAWRENCE GROTTOLLE

Lost in an enchanted forest

THE EMERALD FOREST
Directed by John Boorman

Set in the almost hallucinogenic lushness of the Amazonian jungle, John Boorman's *The Emerald Forest* is the best true-life adventure movie since Hollywood took its cameras to Africa in 1931 and made *Trader Horn*. The film is based on a real story: members of an Indian tribe living on Amazonian natives' soil and the father searches for 10 years for the boy before

Deliverance is as striking as either myth or action, and he gives his movie a cracking pace. The film-making technique is so stunningly assured that even feathered words of jungle play—mambala, arrows waving through the air, the seductions of nature rituals—seem new and exciting. The photography of the rain forest, shot brilliantly by Philippe Rousselot (*Drive*), the transverse landscape, the jungle is so vibrantly alive as an animal.

With superb economy, Boorman



Boorman, Boorman: weaving the magical spell of great adventure fiction

he finds him. The movie starts when the story did: the blind, comely, neglected, young (William Baudouin), steps down the edge of the forest into the contradictions swirling for the hydrocarbon dam his father is building and tells him he has seen his "father's people." But, Markham (Powers Boothe) doubts his son, and takes him by the hand onto the forest to show him there are no smiling people. Having allowed Tommy to turn behind him, he turns around to discover that the child has vanished. Markham's only clue is a feathered arrow, reputed to belong to a tribe called the Inambari. People, known for their ability to camouflage themselves in the jungle.

From the moment the fair-skinned child sees those smiling eyes staring out at him from the foliage, *The Emerald Forest* weaves the magical spell of great adventure fiction. Boorman (*Excalibur*,

quickly acquires the audience with the life of the tribe and their customs. Both dreadful and charming, Markham's final search begins 10 years after his son's disappearance, the film concludes between Markham and the enigmatic lost son, now called Temoo (played by Boorman's own son, Charlie), coming at eye under the tutelage of his adoptive father, Chief Wacandi (Ike Poleski). The chief, who has a benevolent grace, all fathers should envy, is preparing the teenager for his "time to die." He teaches him to blow-dart a monkey and to breathe of the cougar's warning cry. After a ritual in which Temoo is covered head to foot with insects, the chief announces, "The boy is dead—and the man is born."

The father's non-reaction is totally accidental. Markham, wounded and being a tribe called the Poree People (there are horrific scenes of cannibalism), runs into Temoo, who is searching for his

stones near a waterfall. The recognition scene is masterly: they eye each other and their meeting for the first time under the roar of the water. Temoo comes for Markham in *Deliverance* ("The one I see in my dreams"). When he brings his hurt father back to the tribe, they also call him *Deliverance*. The recovered Markham finally realizes that although he has lost his son, he has lost him in another, vanishing world.

The Indians, whose speech has a remarkably simple poetry, call whites the Temate People because "they show away all the grand father trees." Neither Boorman nor his son, cinematographer, Roper Phillips, sentimentalize the Indians, but their film is an impassioned plea to stop the rape of a culture. (The population of the Amazon rain forest, once 100 million, has dwindled to 200,000.) Nor a Boorman embraced by Indian mysticism, in those scenes where he renders it visually. *The Emerald Forest* has an almost primal power. The ending of the film, which takes Temoo into the white world, may seem inevitable in a modern and civilized viewer. If it does, the audience's cultural blind spot is to blame. "We go back to that terrible place," the chief asks Markham, and his question has a haunting resonance.

With *The Emerald Forest* Boorman has accomplished something wonderful and brave. He refuses to pander to the current market taste for movies that rely on formulas and flashiness. With most Hollywood film-makers are now content to show the wonder in fantasy, Boorman performs the more difficult task of finding the wonder in reality.

—LAWRENCE GROTTOLLE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1. *Redskins*, Crease, King (1)
2. *My Tomorrow*, Gales, Shellen (2)
3. *The Other House*, Miles, Jurek (3)
4. *Capricorn*, Kane, Roberts (2)
5. *Inside, Outside*, Wink (1)
6. *Twenty*, Adams, Stolt (1)
7. *The Burning Snow*, Smith (1)
8. *Behind the Glass*, Smith (1)
9. *Jahel*, Baskin, L. (1)
10. *Thames*, Baskin, L. (1)

Nonfiction

1. *Jason*, Baskin, with Smith (1)
2. *A Passion for Excellence*, Peters and Austin (1)
3. *Surviving with Menace*, Sternberg (1)
4. *Mountbatten*, Zinger (1)
5. *The Basset Report*, Basset (1)
6. *Isart of Only*, Baskin, L. (1)
7. *Dr. Albrecht's Body Type Program*, Albrecht and King (1)
8. *The Making of a Policeman*, Baskin (1)
9. *Surviving, Baskin* (1)
10. *The Canadian*, Wink (1)

(1) Position last week

Faces and waistlines from the past



By Allan Fotheringham

The real reason why people go to high school reunions is to see what happened to the others. It is a contest to see who has deteriorated the most, the flaccid arms, the sagging faces and waistlines and, if possible, income lines. There is a sense of friendship about it, laughing anew with someone one once laughed with 35 years ago. But essentially it is curiosity that creates school reunions, everyone waiting to see who everyone else married and why, everyone wanting to see if the class beauty has stood up to the ravages of time, whether the most-destined-to-succeed indeed ended up a postman or a bank vice-president.

The bank vice-president from our class in downtown Chilliwack High School, as it turns out, did not show up. When last seen, I believe he was in a Caribbean beach. You'd have thought he would have been proud enough of his status to have made the trip so as to elicit the envy hugout deserves. The most contented and well-adjusted fellow among the 80 or so grads who dared to show their waistlines was a chap who still farms not 10 miles from the very school.

"None of us ever change," an old university class once informed me. "We just become more like ourselves." Whether this observation was out of disappointment in what she saw before her or elation, I did not have the courage to require. These voyages into nostalgia are self-justifying as going to "check out" what the decades have done to total strangers or movie stars or personalities we can see decay year by year on our TV screens but to friends and colleagues with whom one has spent in some cases 12 years, term in and term out. After a 35-year gap, here is this face and this waistline out of the past, a time warp quite to 126—all judged against that grad photo that, with great wit, the organizers have placed on everyone's class.

Of the two most handsome men, one is a timber company executive and the other, Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

most happily married man in Canada. The other runs tire stores, is a volunteer fireman and states quite naturally that he owes it all to his wife. No more likely consort of the feminist liberation movement could be imagined. Those of the class profess to be cured alcoholics. Eleven of our grads have died. One did not really come back to the 35-boost-bash to learn this. Do high school graduates die? One never realized it before this point.

Of the two star athletes (present company excepted), one is now a dentist, well-preserved, turned into a golfer. The

hairstyles are today. One generation dresses to outrage the previous one, a process that undoubtedly started when the first Stone-Age teenager rather than animal skins off at the knee and brought talk of degeneracy and moral decay. The grad class of 1950, at least part of it, was condemned to perdition for the same sins and now exists full of bald spots and short of breath.

If the truth be known, high school reunions should be held every 10 years—or perhaps 15. That way, the element of surprise (and to mention shock) is

relatively removed. One can then chart the path of one's colleagues—their careers and their marriages and their happiness progressing or going wrong. We would be able to follow, with interest, the recoveries, the reversals, those uttering as the brick who have pulled themselves back, the near-bankrupt who are now wallowing in swimming pools and car telephones. More frequent reunions into the lives and loves of once-entitled would be more interesting and less shocking.

We are allowed to track the records of our entertainment idols and our

sports heroes as they grow in character development over the years or, as with John McEnroe and other such spirited pugilists, hole. We watch, in voyeurism, the advances of Teddy Kennedy's jawline and pockmarked eyes, and Caring Basnett turning into a young woman and whether that is going to impede her as it does Zola Reid. We have a quick look at these people. It is only with old friends, geography and profession separating us, that surprise is such an unfair way to deal with all this, although some of us clearly show the effects of separation much less than others. It is our school-mates who really worry us.

Oscar Wilde, in his classic *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, had the portrait of the hero age while Dorian Gray himself remained fresh and youthful, the ambition of all of us. In the end, the game over, the portrait slowly melted into decrepitude again, the fate of all of us. Going to a 35th high school reunion is Oscar Wilde revisited.



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